

**THE LAST  
EXPRESSION  
ON MY  
DEATH BED**

**NAMEIRAKPAM BISHESWAR**



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**BY :  
N. BISHESWAR ( ANGOU )**

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## **PUBLISHER'S NOTE**

The PAX publication is bringing out Mr. Nameirakpam Bisheswar's second work "The Last Expression on My Death Bed" to the public. Mr. Bisheswar is the well-known founder chief of the People's Liberation Army (FLA), which was declared to have formed in the year 1977. The author led the world-wide revolutionary organisation (PLA) for about 3 (three) years. He was apprehended by the Indian Army on July 6, 1981, from Tekcham where several trusted comrades of his martyred for the people's liberation.

The book purely reveals the thought and idea of the author, whose body and mind were cruelly subjected to torture and ill-treatment while he was confined in the Army and civil custodies as if he was incarcerated. The author's approach to faith of life is pragmatical. Throughout his life he strives for upholding the cause of his fellow beings who are downtrodden poor people of India in general and those of Manipur and other (six north-eastern) sister-states in particular. The book is based on a new concept of Democratic Socialism, a serious criticism against Indian political system beginning from the era of its non-violent movement led by Mahatma Gandhi.

Being an advocate of Armed Revolutionary movement, the author modestly attempts to make the Meetei people learn politics in their day-to-day practical life for achieving value-oriented socio-economic and political justice.

The author was at the threshold of death while in the jail. So all his expression were just like the wishes of a dying person, that too of a revolutionary

whose mind is always inclined towards dedication and service calculated to bring about a political regeneration. His being an MLA (Member of the Legislative Assembly) by the mandate of his people from inside the jail has paved the way for regaining his freedom of movement and for availing the very opportunity to utilise his present position for attaining the goal of his revolutionary movement in a peaceful manner by political enlightenment and emancipation of the exploited masses.

From the publication side we humbly give our sincere thanks to all the readers of the book and to all others who think alike, share his thought and ideas, and propagate his hopes and aspirations, for ushering in a new era of justice, equality and fraternity.

**PUBLISHER.**

## **PREFACE**

**Why do I write this book ?**

There are two factors which compelled me to write the following articles. The first is my deteriorating health which, I feel, would never recover enough to restore my outdoor life. Rather, I doubt that I may be no more in the days to come. The second is my aspiration for fact finding.

### **My Fact Finding**

What made the Chief Minister visit me inside the Manipur Central Jail, Imphal ? Is there any motive ?

Yes. The C.M. Rishang Keishing (Tangkhu Naga) who was being assisted by the army and Civil authorities, visited me to implicate that I was seeking for a surrender before him. Their aim was to finish me off morally or politically and then split the PLA to contain insurgency outwardly but inwardly to increase bloodbath just for a bigger, continued inflow of central assistance together with more gallantry awards, medals and war-time decorations by so intensifying insurgency with several number of parties under the same pattern of one party into many a deliberately invented strategy to cover up the reasons for their criminal act of "Bloodshed in Peace".

In fact, the aim of the C.M. and his assistants is to keep the Manipur insurgency alive. In collaboration with the Civil and Army authorities, an apparently acceptable formula based on lying was invented that Bisheswar was surrendering to the Govt. This formula is indeed a manoeuvre to split the PLA to intensify its movement and activities under the same old pattern

of PREPARK which, by indulging in the mutual massacre of the said three factions as so wished by them, the Government, comes out as a strong and bigger party of three different names.

In short, the C.M. and his partners wanted to utilise the PLA to benefit them in a narrow and selfish way, as the PLA is as good as orphaned according to them. They know well that small and weak PLA cannot serve them and their personal interests. They are, therefore, busy in finding a means and in the process to implement it they visited me as a part of their game to develop the PLA to such a stage that the C.M. was able to have a meaningful political bargain with stringency and that his assistants, the law enforcement agencies were honourably decorated with the more heroic war-time medals and intending awards. In short, the C.M. with his Jail visit is preparing a ground for a further deterioration of the situation to utilise it for his narrow political gain.

To the C.M. the bigger the Central Oil pipeline, the heavier his pocket. As for the armed man, a safer but equally prestigious war-time medals are indeed a golden opportunity that they are not engaging with the tough Chinese or Pakistanese but conducting instead a romantic and luxurious combing operation i.e. a lovely and enjoyable war. In fact, there is nothing like combing operations. None can label that these are decorations or medals out of fun but easy ado with a romantic and comely sacrifice, fashionable in character. Greatness lies only on the number of big medals, while heroism is earned on raping beautiful girls and killing innocents.

**SIMPLE LOGIC :** India is haunting after a solution for the Naga and Mizo problem. Everybody knows, the Central Govt. propose many a formula and suggestions on the basis of the give and take principle. However, the same Govt. are indulging in a purely military solution



for the Meeteis and the North-East problems as a whole. Why? My logic is that the Meetei and the North-East insurgents, unlike their Naga and Mizo counter-parts, did not make their objective clear that their struggle is for the complete independence of their motherland.

My articles being written on my dying bed, resting my head upon the pillow, are not well made. Besides, I am not well-educated. It is also a fact that there is now-a-days something wrong with me in my head (brain), which is yet to be diagnosed and detected whether artificial or natural. I met many obstacles and hardships during the process of my writing. I request to correct any of the mistakes. Moreover, the views expressed herein and the reasonings attached hereto were of my own and strictly upto the period when this book was written.

Thank You.

Dated 12-10-1983

**NAMEIRAKPAM BISHESWAR**



# **THE LAST EXPRESSION ON MY DEATH BED**

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## **OPERATION OF THE NORTH-EAST**

The seven sisters of the North-East are a State of 'Dominion Status' granted by the Indian Empire. Gone is the British Empire with the Mahatma Gandhi and his followers successfully challenging the "Dominion Status" demanded by the then Indians who were absolutely convinced for themselves that they could not exist without the British. Thus achieved the independence of India with the fall of the British Empire, thereby the Indian people realised the real motive of the Dominion Status. However, sovereign country, India, comprises to-day constituent States enjoying only dominion status in the north-east. This is the hypocrisy of the political leaders of the democratic socialistic country, India.

When I say the North-East is a colony, it does not imply that the citizens in the region have anti-Indian attitude, but it only means that we are made to feel to be suffering from inferiority complex and to be victimised by other well placed and citizens of other parts of India. Again, when I say the people of the North-East are yet to be recognised by the Indian masters I only mean that we are bending our heads low to get us cared for, when they our Indian bosses, call us "These people of sitting nose and half-open eye, who have no meaning of their existence". Once again, when I say we are more Indian than the Indians themselves, I simply mean that we are more obedient and loyal to the Centre than that of the rest of India. We never defied (not even question) even if we were asked to get perished or are being played upon.

I am indeed at a loss what will be the appropriate term for my loyalist brothers, the North-East Indians, who believed and even claimed, "no centre, no North-East", which implies that the centre is our leg to go and our soul to survive. No doubt, they are dependent Indians for the freed Indians. They are, therefore, a people of the Dominion Status. In the mean time, the Govt. at the Centre, which support and encourage the very idea of the Dominion Status are, no doubt, the Government of the Indian Empire.

Among the seven sisters of the North-East, Manipur, particularly the Hindu Meeteis who are known as the Hindu Manipuris, topped in adhering to the basic norm of the Dominion Status. Its people are protagonists of "Loyal to the Indian leaders ( Central Leaders ) even at the cost of their own existence." Acknowledging the inherent and present defects of the Meeteis, unlike the other brothers of the North-East, I am going to write more of the Meeteis in order to enlighten them at my own level. Excuse,

### **"RENAISSANCE OF THE MEETEIS AND MEETEI RELIGION"**

Meetei religion is a religion before Hinduism in Kangleipak. It includes the Meetei way of life, the Meetei culture, a convention and tradition, etc. before the Meeteis embraced Hinduism during the reign of king Pamheiba ( also called Garibniwaj by the Hindus ), the pioneer of Hinduism in Manipur. Manipur itself is a Hindu name. Its ancient and real name before the advent of Pamheiba or Hinduism was lost with the adoption of the culture, the religion and other forms of imperialism.

The Meetei nation as well as the Meetei religion, as we all know, was a thing of the past, dead and forgotten. How do such a dead Meetei nation and

forgotten Meetei religion revive? Is it really a renaissance of the Meeteis? Is it the course of history or is history repeating itself? Is it that the Meeteis search for a means of their survival?

The answer must come not from the Meeteis and their leaders but absolutely from the Indian leaders. I am not searching for a dig. I am not going to pinpoint where the blame lies. I am only noting down the historical facts.

Naoria Phulo is the pioneer of the Meetei nationalism and Meetei religion. He is the first legendary figure, who openly challenged the viability of Hinduism and Hindu caste system accepted by the Meeteis. He successfully revived and preached his Meetei culture and Meetei philosophy. It is a theory based on the Meetei religion, a philosophy that could eradicate the deep-rooted Hinduism in the heart of the Meeteis. In the course of his heroic struggle against the Hindu-Meeteis, he organised "Apokpa Marup" which is now strong and popular enough to command a good following both inside and outside Manipur.

Surprisingly enough, this Meetei legendary figure was born not in Manipur, the original Meetei homeland, but somewhere in the neighbouring State of Assam in the district of Cachar at an obscure Village of Jabribon, Laishram Khul. He was a mere police officer during the British rule. People used to call him "Crazy Meetei" when he began his preachings, the philosophy of his Meetei cult which is based on the Meetei religion: Meetei culture, convention and tradition i.e. the rich heritage left behind by the forefathers of the Meeteis.

To-day Naoria has gone away with all flesh. However, his ideals or his Ideology or the song sung by him from an obscure corner of Assam does win the heart and change the mind of the Meeteis, particularly

our youngsters. As if one who can turn defeat into success he, of course after his passing away, comes out with flying colours a legendary figure of the Meeteis. He is now worshipped by the Meetei as a missionary of God widely known as Naoria Ahal or Laining Ahal. Indeed, the onetime Crazy-Phulo becomes to-day the bright shining sun in the heart of the Meeteis, a candle to burn in the dark, a path to go and a guide to action. As we all know, there are to-day two classes of Meeteis among the Meeteis themselves. One is Hindu Meetei and the other is the original Meetei. Revival of the original Meetei is indeed a great success for which credit goes to him.

However, the era of the topic lies when we dig into Manipur not before the Indian Union but after the Indian Union. Because, Hinduism in Manipur, before it joined the Indian Union was on the peak of success. Its success, history proves, was unquestionable and indisputable, indeed without parallel. During that time, the Meetei legendary Naoria Ahal and his Meetei was much in a low profile, inspite of the best effort. We witnessed the rise of Naoria Phulo, his Meetei and Meetei Philosophy, only when and only after the Meeteis (Manipur), on the 15th October of 1949, joined the Union of India and thereafter began, with the discriminating policy of the Indian leaders, to feel day by day that they, the Meeteis are betrayed, defeated and colonised. In fact, the Meeteis began to feel the danger of paying India and Hinduism too much attention.

I feel never exhausted to ask myself whether the Renaissance of the Meeteis or the revival of the Meeteis is wholly and completely attributed to the legendary Naoria Ahal and his teachings. I am also not idle to ask further whether the awakening of the Meeteis,

based on their own past, is to be attributed only to our younger generation's search for a means of their survival, as they find no alternative to survive in their own homeland Manipur, if they remain adhering to Hinduism and the so-called mainstream. I also want to know more whether this new trend of the Meeteis is because of the fact that they are, after their merger into India, betrayed by the Indian leaders simply for their being a devoted Hindu and a loyal Indian. I am yet to answer these questions if I be so permitted. Does politics misuse a religion called Hinduism in Manipur ?

I feel that it is really worthwhile and proper to write such an article as above on this very day of the celebration (15th Oct. 1983) by the Meeteis of 'the Manipur Merger Day' as a red letter day of theirs.

15th Oct. 1983

**Nameirakpam Bisheswar**

## **“THE SECRET OF MY SECRET IN THE SEARCH OF MY PEOPLE’S SURVIVAL”**

Call what you may whether a Communist or Pro-west ; whether a pro-Indian or an anti-Indian ; whether a patriot or an egoist with no principle or stand, the cause I believe in is the cause of the very survival of my people of the North-east, the people of the Seven Sisters, with the help of any one of the above means or ideology.

To me the people of the North-East, who belong to the same ethnic origin and whose Languages (despite a mere tribal dialect to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as depicted in his famous book ‘the Discovery of India’ and the other Indian leaders but to me one of the richest and the most precious Languages in the world), are similar in origin and in root, and who are one people in the final analysis, are a near extinct people, facing the threat of survival severely. It is not the political ideology or the philosophy but the survival that we as a whole are facing to-day and highly in need. What is, must or a real ideology of the people of the North-East is to guarantee their survival, the way to it whether to survive if they be a Communist, whether to survive if they be pro-West, whether to survive if they fix on adhering to the mainstream of India, or whether to survive if they build up their own independent and sovereign motherland of their own or what else ?

To me my people of the North-East in the eye of India (means Indian leaders) are pseudo or self styled Indians, unrecognised or illegitimate Indians, indeed abandoned Indians, like abandoned children (means unclaimed) or step Indians, like step brothers of the



foster mother-India, or, may I say, a colony of or a dominion status of the Indian Empire. This is supported by the fact that there are many kinds of armed or other form of uprising or rebellion in the North-East for the last many a decade.

Whether am I a secessionist ?

Considering my maturity, my experience and my knowledge of reason, it is really ignorant and lack of vision on the part of those who are naively keeping an eye upon me whether I am a secessionist. I cannot but consider such an allegation as a propaganda war, if they are not really ignorant. Being arrogant or stubborn, I claim I am as mature as the Indian leaders and not less than them excepting the dirty devices of the divide and rule. Rather, they need many things from me though I am from a far obscure corner where nobody in India knows. It is better, Indian leaders learn to admit facts and realities. I oppose violence and support peace. I love democracy. A strong and great motherland is always my motto. This is to speak the truth, my commitment.

I have my own view regarding movements in the North-East and the way to their success. But in honour of the distinguished and veteran movement leaders, I do simply omit this view of mine. However, I feel that I may be permitted to write of the Meeteis. I am begging pardon if anything which affects the interest of my fellow brothers is found when I deal with my writing of the Meeteis. Absolutely the aim of my writing is to educate the Meeteis with realities of the facts and to make them learn from their North-East brothers, and I have nothing to do with my fellow tribal brothers who, I think, must excuse me, if they found any unwarranted, biased, ill-termed, inappropriate and improper wordings or languages, I use

during the course of my impatient writing to pinpoint where the mistake of the Meeteis lies as a result of which their existence is severely threatened, their future and their everything are all obscure and dark. What the Meeteis believe is phenomenon ; the reality, no doubt, is that they are extinct people. Where is the so-called safeguard of the linguistic and cultural minority of India ? We can not pretend that we are not extinct.

### **“MY MORAL DUTY”**

I do confess I am nobody, indeed, a little baby before a Meetei scholar. I must admit that I have no right to dissect the body of the Meeteis and investigate into it. For, my knowledge of the Meeteis is poor and limited. What I am writing here is only about those I recall. I went from one Meetei to another when I did land in the underground. The Meeteis have different ideas and apprehensions. Here is the general one that I am depicting in my writing.

The Meeteis are Veisnavite Hindus since the Meetei King, Pamheiba, in Meetei name but Garibniwas in Hindu name. In fact, they are a Hindu from hand to foot. Not only in religion but in culture, the Meetei since then becomes a full Hindu, indeed, a staunch and devoted Hindu. They even beleive that theirs is a real home of the Hindus, themselves being a real and pure Hindu for which reason they feel proud, and claim that they are not Meetei by caste but a Hindu by caste. To them there is nothing left for their being a Hindu.

Why, then do the younger generations of the Meeteis discard Hinduism. No, they do not discard it. Our younger generations advocate the cult of Meetei-ism

(Meetei religion). They speak of the cultural imperialism of Hinduism which is indeed a foreign object to them. They have branded Hinduism as Mayangism. They call Hindu religion a Mayang religion. They consider the Hindu way of life as a Mayang way of life, Hindu culture as Mayang culture. They allege that the role of Hinduism has reduced them to a slave of the Mayangs. They cannot feel they are Indians at the bottom of their heart. Instead, they feel that they are being colonised. And, the way to their colonisation, according to their apprehension, is nothing but Hinduism. That is why Hinduism becomes to-day the target for them. Even the Hindu God and Goddesses are Mayangs in the eye of them. Even Hindu deities are their enemies.

In short, to them everything Mayang (Indian) is an enemy, to speak the truth. They always call the Hindu Meeteis the voice of Mayangs or Indians. They drop their Indian names in favour of their ancient Meetei names.

Moreover, our younger generations claim that the merger of Manipur on October 15, 1949 (The Manipur Merger Agreement, 1949 Oct. 15 ) is a forced merger without the consent/approval but against the interest of the people of Manipur. Its detail is being published every now and then in the local dailies and news magazines, etc. The Manipur King, Bodhchandra at the Shillong Conference signed the said Agreement, the brain-child of Sardar Patel who was the iron man of India. That is why our youngsters labelled their old generations as "Manipur Yonthokpa", (people who sell out Manipur) to India ; for this reason the lives of those signatories including members of the Territorial Council are being threatened. They are labelled because they remain silent.

Why, then don't our older generations, the political and social elites, convince their younger lots in the light of the national mainstream ?

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Why don't they explain, the word Mayang is wrongly interpreted. Though it is known as Indians by the present Meeteis, this word in its literal meaning is a vulgar word to label the barbaric evil doers. There is only pessimism and nothing optimism is found in it. I wonder that though brandishing as Mayang, our boys and girls adore the handsome Amitab Bachan and the pretty Hema Malini of the Bombay Film World. Suppose, I ask our youngsters to discard the Hindi song as well as the Hindi movies, both being a Mayang song and Mayang movies. I am sure I will be kicked and kicked left and right, and finally thrown away into the dustbin. Moreover, dignitaries such as Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Nehru, Mrs. Gandhi etc. are not branded as Mayang in this sense. The meaning of Mayang is equivocal and absurd, perhaps wrongly interpreted. Meeteis always call a bad Meetei, a Mayang.

Why is it not explained that Hinduism which ruined the Meeteis serves the people of Burma, Japan, Thailand and Nepal etc. ? Why don't these people, unlike the Meeteis lose their national and cultural identities in spite of their being adopted Hinduism. What is wrong with the Meeteis is yet to be explained. Is it not better for them to disclose the positive aspect of Hinduism which has been safeguarding the identity of the Meeteis in Bangladesh, Burma, Assam, Tripura and the other parts of the world ? The very untouchability of Hinduism is attributed to it, ironically speaking Why don't our older people reasonably show the future of the Meeteis in the mainstream of India ?

Why, then don't they intent to know the whys and the hows of their youngsters in their search for better future, at least for a survival ?

Today our younger generations are merely branded as a secessionist or anti-Indian or any other else. I do not know how far this theory is correct. I only

want to write what they have in their heart of hearts. I think I have a moral duty to let others informed of their feeling and mood.

### **“THE PRESENT MEETEI FAMILY”**

Though mankind exists in the midst of crises, in the form of “no crisis, no mankind”, yet the crisis in a modern or present Meetei family is so peculiar that it is a crisis of crises. Rape in the combing operations is romanticised and innocent killing becomes a fashion. In the mean time, political murders and other tortures to death by the law enforcing agencies are a popular game.

On the other hand, ‘my son or daughter is misguided and thus revolting’ becomes the household talk. Surprisingly, it was turned to be a Government talk other than the household ones. In fact, a son is not a boon to a father here in Manipur. Likewise, to the Govt. too, youngsters are not the pillar of the nation but merely a pill ( without “ar” of pillar ) indeed a bitter pill to cure diseases—social, political, economic and so on.

Is it surprising or natural that the peace-loving and God-fearing Meeteis became a revolting fighter? We need to study the why and how of their revolt. Of course, we need an autopsy.

### **“POST MORTEM OF THE MEETEIS”**

The Meeteis are extinct people. Their extinction, it is so believed, is rightly attributed to their adoption of Hinduism, that is, their being a Hindu. They were once tribals who used to live in the hills with their tribal blood-brothers, even if they so happened to reside in the valley now. However, in their own homeland

( Manipur ), the Meeteis are not permitted to settle down wherever they choose, except in a few limited portion of land known as Manipur valley where, unlike the rest of the hilly Manipur which is solely reserved for the tribals under the umbrella of the hill autonomy, Manipur, each and every community or people irrespective of caste or religion has the same right to live and enjoy as much as the Meeteis do.

Why is the Meeteis' right limited only in the plain-Manipur and forfeited in the hill-Manipur ?

Of course, it is by the grace of the Hill Autonomy, the Indian leaders maintained to save the Christians at the cost of the Hindus or to save the tribals at the expense of the non-tribals or to save the Nagas and Mizos at the cost of the Meeteis or to favour the revolting Nagas and Mizos at the cost of extremely loyal Meeteis. No doubt, it is by the grace of the Meeteis' excess loyalty to their so-called Hindu brothers that their legitimate right is forfeited in their own home, a loyalty even when they are asked to get perished.

Is there anything wrong, from the above context, to term that the Meeteis are not a bonafide people of Manipur but a pseudo and defeated people who are extinct and who can hardly exist in their own homeland ? Are the Meeteis facing a war of a second or another "Chahi Taret Khuntakpa" i.e. their heroic war of survival ?

The Meeteis were once the ruler of this little land, Manipur. Of course, it was not a long time ago. However, as soon as Manipur became a member of the Indian Union (Oct. 15, 1949), the Meeteis' existence is hung by a mere thread. Their being a Hindu i.e. a non-tribal Hindu loyalist is their threat to their very existence.

Presumably, Indian leaders treated the Meeteis as a second class Hindu bound to be neglected with a step-motherly eye, in spite of the fact that the Meeteis are more Hindus than the other Hindus in India, more Indian than the other Indians themselves.

When the Meeteis were converted Into Hinduism, abnormally and unusually they did not maintain their own identity i.e. the Meetei identity. Instead, they changed their caste from the Meetei caste to the Hindu caste, replacing the Meetei identity by the Hindu identity, unlike their Naga, and Mizo brothers who without altering their own caste and losing their respective identities, only adopted Christianity. Here lies how much the Meeteis are a Hindu unparalleled. This is the question how devoted and dedicated the Meeteis are in their Hinduism. This is indeed everything helping the Meeteis' extinction.

Again, it is the Meeteis being the Hindu that antagonised their immediate tribal brothers of the same origin and blood, who are Christians. Because of their Hinduism, the Meeteis failed to stop building the Berlin wall around them and particularly against their blood brothers, the tribals. This facilitated the Central rulers to weaken the Meeteis by permanently dividing their brothers, isolating them from their tribal brothers under the device of the Hill Autonomy of Manipur. This is the Centre's brainchild based on underhand stratagem. This is how the Meeteis are destined to be a victimised Hindu who is confronting from within and without for their immediate survival. Are the Meeteis the funny Jackal wearing the skin of a tiger ?

## **“SHOULD INDIA BUILD UP ITS EMPIRE ON THE DEBRIS OF THE MEETEIS”**

The Meeteis are ill-fated Hindus devoted to India and its leaders who most possibly, have branded them ( the Meetei ) as self-styled or self-proclaimed Indians. They become extinct in the form of a soluble salt on the mainstream of the Indian Ocean.

Why they are so mercilessly destined is due to the fact that the Indian leaders, for reasons best known only to them, assume the Meeteis to be a crow in the guise of a peacock. The irony of the fact emerges when the Meetei who, it is said, joined the Indian Union of their own and even on the sole initiative of their being a Hindu, has become a victim of India, a target of the Indian leaders. Thanks to loyal Meeteis and genuine Hinduism and the far-sighted Indian leaders ?

In a tiny land called Manipur of which little is known in India, the Meeteis are proud that they are more real Hindus and theirs is one of the most sacred origin of Hindu and Hinduism. So much is the Meeteis' Hinduism unparalleled in faith and devotion. If their suffering is the price of that, how can Hinduism survive in Manipur.

In the eye of the Indians, the Meeteis are a people from an undiscovered part of India, an untouchable politically, economically and developmentally. If this is the price of the Meeteis joining India and of their excessive loyalty to the Indian leaders, how long will the Meeteis remain within the Indian Union ?

Every Indian knows the Meeteis are less equal than the other Indians. Even in their own homeland (Manipur) known as Meeteileipak which means the land of the



Meeteis, the Meeteis have already been reduced to a second class Citizen. How can a Meetei, under such a circumstance, join the National mainstream of India ? How far the Meeteis are legitimate Indian from the context of equality, freedom and liberty, the basic things for a free people ? Why we be treated as a colonial people ? Why we be called "These people of sitting nose and half-open eye who have no meaning of survival" ? Are we the people of a foreign Colony ? Or else, is Manipur a dominion or dependent state of the Indian Empire like the then India of the British Empire ? If we are not a colonial people, are we abandoned Indian like abandoned children ? How long should we bend our heads down ?

If the Meeteis were not converted into Hinduism, instead adopted Christianity, just as their Naga, Mizo and other brothers or if they remained with their ancient past following and preserving the rich heritage of their forefathers without borrowing any foreign religion and caste, certainly would they not be like an extinct and defeated people. Rather, the Meeteis might have been bright stars or perhaps another Japan in the East. If the Japanese had been an unsinkable Aircraft Carrier, why not the Meeteis must have been an ever-victorious Nuclear submarine, but, alas ! those are things of the past.

Today the Meeteis are facing a threat to their very existence. They get extinct. They have no motherland of their own both in India and in Manipur. From a humane indeed from a heroic and highly cultured people, they have been reduced to a pitiable creature seeking for a home within India. If they fail to find and set their home properly in India as the other Indians do, they have no alternative but to build a new homeland outside India, say, in the Kabo Valley in Burma since every nation and each people have the right to exist.

Should we bid farewell to India and its Hinduism or should Indian leaders review and timely correct their past mistakes ?

It is the best of nonsense, a wistful conclusion and premature summation of the Indian leaders that we are branded merely as anti-Indians or those who Balkanise India. Are we joining the Indian Union to get wiped out ? Should India build up its Empire on the debris of the Meeteis ?

Who threatens the integrity of India ? Is it the Meeteis or the Indian leaders and their suicidal policy or me ? Well, it is yet to be answered.

**“FOR THEIR BEING A NON-REVOLTING HINDU LOYALIST  
THE MEETEIS BECAME A SWEET MEAT IN THE  
HANDS OF THE HUNGRY DOGS AS A  
PRICE OF THEIR OWN STUPIDITY  
AND SHORT-SIGHTEDNESS”**

On the false pretext of the so-called solution of the insurgent movements in the Hills ( Manipur ), these Indian leaders in the name of safeguarding the tribal and Christian minority did install and maintain the hill Autonomy, Manipur, against the interest of the Meeteis forfeiting their (‘the Meeteis’) future and thereby degrading them to the second class citizen in Manipur.

These Indian leaders conveniently and purposely conceal that the Meeteis, too, are minority as well as a tribal by origin and by now. Why do they, the Indian leaders, save one minority by killing the other ? Is it playing and balancing one minority against the other ? Or, one community against the other or else, the Nagas and the Mizos against the Meeteis ? Or otherwise, is it a policy to divide the people of Manipur and rule to their convenience ? Is it a systematic plan to wipe out the Meeteis, the one time ruler, i.e. to extinguish the once majority and stronger Meeties completely, thoroughly and permanently ?

Is my writing, a collection of the historical facts, prejudicial, offensive or discriminating against the Government ? Is it a threat to Hinduism ? Is it an unnecessary and useless lamentation not to finish the minority like the Meeteis ?

Who do the Indian leaders intend even today to liquidate the Meeteis ? What are the factors ?

Because the Meeteis being a staunch and devoted Hindu or loyal to them excessively, they ( the Meeteis ) are not given even the share of their cake, themselves being an uncried child who, according to the Indian conscience, should never be fed with milk by the mother, mother India perhaps being a foster mother of the Meeteis. Because, unlike their Naga and Mizo brothers, the Meeteis, the excessively Hindu Indian, never waged and instead even opposed the war against India to build up an independent and sovereign motherland.

Had the Meeteis joined the Naga revolutionary movement when Z. Phizo organised and persuaded them to fight together against India, the position of the Meeteis must have been far more higher than that of today and that the Meeteis must not have been certainly a victim of these Indian leaders and their discriminating and dividing policies one of which is the Hill Autonomy of Manipur—a policy which has not only isolated the Meeteis from their tribal blood brothers but destined the Meeteis to be a political and economic outcaste as well. We have already built up a permanent wall of hatred between us and our tribal brothers by virtue of the betrayed Hinduism and the underhand political stratagem of the expansionist and colonial policy of the divide and rule. In short, we are divided by virtue of the political religion or the Hindu politics, a game of betrayal. It is surprising how the Meeteis forgot their origin, their own forefathers and their history that they themselves are indeed a tribal and the tribals are indeed the Meeteis who are their real brothers and sisters of the same flesh and blood.

Just as the Nagas, the Mizos and the other tribal brothers are labelled as a social outcaste or an untouchable by virtue of the Meeteis' Hinduism which was indeed exported from India during the reign of King Pamheiba who did destroy the Meeteis' own

religion ( now revived and active ), the Meeteis too are equally branded as a political and economic untouchable or a sort of untouchable by the blessing of the dividing policy of the Indian leaders with their Hill Autonomy Act in Manipur.

The only difference is that our tribal brothers are provided more or less with a room to breathe in India and Manipur, while the Meeteis' door in the same India and Manipur is shut and they are asked to get perished and extinct.

Until today, hardly do the Indian leaders stop pursuing their old policy of divide and rule, humiliation, discrimination and colonisation, etc. They take Meeteis to be their main target to be struck to kil' from the back with their deceptive Hill Autonomy formula with their population invassion, a device by which non-Meetei and non-Tribal people from outside Manipur, out-numbering the population of the Jiribam Sub-Division have encroached and infiltrated into Manipur. They installed the Chief Minister of their own choice to rule Manipur on their detection, and removed another with their will, and even betrayed.

From all these above connections, there is nothing wrong to conclude that we are sweet meat in the hands of a hungry dogs.

## **“TAME MEETEIS BEHIND THEIR INDIAN MASTER IS THE GROUND OF REVOLT”**

Today, the Meeteis are encircled and trapped. They are put under such a limited position that they are even restricted in going out and occupy a little portion of land in their hilly Manipur which is three times bigger than the Valley of Manipur, to simply earn a living and merely lead a life there. Whereas the Hills occupy a very large portion of land in this limited plain or Valley of Manipur, the number of their settlement is skyrocketing. This is indeed the long-cherished result of the Hill Autonomy Act in Manipur. Besides, there are other communities like Muslims (not the Meetei Pangal but the new entrants), Nepalese, Bengalis and many others, who have been swiftly flooding from the mainland India as if to outnumber the Meeteis. This is how the Meeteis fate for their survival is forfeited. No more will the Meeteis be able to survive in their own homeland. It is a legacy left behind by our meaningless loyalty to these Indian Leaders who betray, humiliate and intimidate us, and who want to get us extinct.

Why should we run as a tame animal running behind our Indian masters? Why should we remain loyal to them to get us extinct and liquidated? What is wrong when our younger generation begin to fight for a free Manipur either within or without India i.e. for the restoration of their old and ancient Manipur, a sovereign and independent Manipur before the British rule or before its merger to India. Who is to blame? Whether the youngsters or the Indian leaders?

In fact, I sided with our younger generation who are brave and promising, promising in the sense that they

know how to correctly deal with these immoral Indian leaders and regain the lost prestige of our people and nation. I am always a follower of them, youngsters. To me they are heroes of tomorrow. They are destined to take up the task of the building up of our motherland constructively and prosperously. I can not but disclose my secret that they are my hope to success. I shall always be with them till the last breath of my life. I am N. Bisheswar and any attempt to antagonise me from my colleagues and my people by some vested interest in the style of a Mayang-like propaganda that Bisheswar has surrendered or is going to surrender, should be in vain and be met a retaliatory and adverse result.

When you declare through your Government—sponsored leaflets 'An appeal by the Government of Manipur' together with "the Gandhi peace Camp" in 1983 that we (the extremists as you label) are your children, how can you say we need a surrender before you? If you ask to surrender your children, will not you bow down before your enemy? Are you a person of standard? Are you a liar? You promised before me "I will never mention of surrender" but you spoke of your best nonsense based on your habitual lying that Mr. Bisheswar and his colleagues are ready for surrender. ( National papers in India ).

In order to get me and my dear colleagues surrendered why don't you proclaim that we are a foreign enemy as you presume and are treating so, and that we the apprehended are the POWS ( the Prisoners Of War ) to be treated according to the Geneva Convention. I rightly claim that we must be given the status of the POWS as we are a foreign enemy according to the logic you upheld and the treatment you meted out.

In order not to put me into oblivion by the false, motivated and concocted propaganda, I come out with

my stand that nobody in the world can persuade me to surrender. I have my people with me, their strength to me being the greatest of any enemy in the world, however strong he may be. Let the Heaven threaten that He will collapse and fall above my head. Let the giant Mount Everest jump on me and eat all of my flesh and bone yet I shall always stand erect.

Very sincerely without any hesitation, I admit that I am not a hero but merely a coward, defeated and hopeless. I am broken down all round. But it is a fact that my will never breaks, never dies. No force in the world, however strong and deceptive, can subdue this "will" of mine. My valueless body may depart me soon. However, my will is the "Fire of Andro" which is undieable and unextinguishable. It will remain with my people forever.

**"A FREE MEETEI IS A BOON FOR INDIA;  
WHILE A MEETEI AT THE DOOR OF INDIA WITH  
A BEGGING BOWL IS A BANE FOR INDIA.**

The Meetei joined the Union of India on 15th Oct. 1949, just two years after the independence of India. They are industrious, well-cultured, educated and civilised. They, though suppressed, are not inferior to other Indian in education, sports, culture and so on.

Indians are worried about the concentration of their Industries and thereby planning to locate industries districtwise. However, in a State ( not district ) called Manipur there is not a single industry heavy, medium and even small. Ironically, the Singjamei Rice Mill is the Bhaba Atomic Centre of Manipur. Indian leaders as if born with quality or instinct, never feel exhausted to seek excuse and explanation. They have a sharp nagging tongue but a blunt lagging hand. On the contrary, the Meeteis possess a lagging tongue but a



super golden hand. Indeed, their suppression by the Indian leaders is a very great loss for India itself. They, the Meeteis, should not be asked to be a beggar at the door of India ( means Delhi ). A saying of the Meetei tells us that a Meetei can see more by his hand than by his eye, which means that there is quickness in a Meetei in learning new things. In fact, the Meeteis have some born qualities in the field of science and technology. Their liberation in the field of science and technology along with the political and economic independence will put India a generation ahead. India should test the proof of this pudding.

India should know that the new generation of the Meeteis unlike their older generation, have a principle or stand that they feel pain to go to the door of India ( Delhi ) with their begging bowls. They hate to bow down to beg for the recognition of their language by including it in the Eight Schedule of the Indian Constitution. They can not kneel down before a boss to shape their fate, their destiny and their future. They want to be a free people as free as the people of India and the world. They want to know why, unlike in the other parts of India, foreign visitors are not allowed to visit their Manipur, if Manipur is a part of India, and if Manipur is not a State of the dominion status in the Indian Union. Is it justified for India if Manipur is granted the status of a dominion while the Indian people under the leadership of Mahatama Gandhi repudiated that the dominion status formula was a colonial policy of the British Empire and that it was nothing but a deviation from and a distortion of the complete independence of India ?

Our bonafide youngsters never stop questioning why the same India which, in order to pacify the Naga revolutionaries, signs the Shillong accord which included Ukhrul, Mao, Tamenglong, the precious hilly areas of Manipur into the territory of Nagaland as enshrined in

the very Accord between the Govt. of India and the Federal Govt. of Nagaland whereas they (Indian leaders) feel shy and remain tongue tight to claim the legitimate land of Manipur, the Kabo Valley. Is there any reason that the Treaty of Yandabu of the 24th February 1826 should not be reviewed now? Why should not we get our Kabo Valley back to us? We must, at all cost. India fought to return Akshai Chin from China, why then does this same India not do the same thing to get the Kabo Valley back from Burma? This is indeed a double standard. This is indeed honourable, and I cannot but praise it being a bonafide people of India!

It is not the new younger generation of Manipur that the integrity of India is being threatened. It is India that asks the Manipur people to depart from India and its mainstream. It is doubtful and really questionable how much we are an Indian in the eye of the Indians particularly the Indian leaders. In the name of God, can you say, my dear Indians, we the people of Manipur particularly the Meeteis are free Indians as free as you? Can you believe for yourself that we are treated as an Indian? Don't you see by your eye that we are people of no motherland (homeland)? Will you ever be pretending as before that we have room in India and that India is worried about our extinction?

May I request you, dear readers, not to see me with an Indian eye. Keep the colour (specs) aside and come straight as a free lancer so that you can see the essence of my writing without eclipsing the facts and reality. Otherwise, no doubt you will throw me into the dust-bin, no, into the hell of what you people always use to call 'anti Indian'—If I be so called as anti-Indian; You are Indians, hostile to the Meetei and their brothers and finally against India itself.

## **IN REPRESENTATION TO DELHI ; THE MEETEIS ARE NON-INDIAN OR A NON-INDIAN INDIAN**

We are in a sense a semi and illegitimate or an abandoned Indian, and a Hindu, yet to be recognised by the Indian Hindu. We are less equal to the other Indians politically, socially, economically and developmentally, etc. Our representation to Delhi, the Centre, is really meaningless in number ( only two ), while the state of U.P. has 84 representations in the Parliament. Even in the Upper House, we have no equal share of representation. If Indian laws or Constitution emphasise and necessitate the number of population for its political representation, why are minorities like us not encouraged for and assisted to population growth against the very principle of Family Planning i.e. a smaller family norm which is indeed unavoidable for a bigger and larger states and communities. It is worth mentioning here that the population of a city like Calcutta is nearly seven times bigger than that of the Manipur State.

As our representation is likely nil, we have no say ( Voice ) at the centre, that is to say, we have no reasonable political representation in India. If politically we are not independent, naturally will our economy be doomed. This is a common logic. In such a circumstance, it is natural that we are bound to be political and economic outcaste in India and thus our future and rights have been forfeited. That is why our youngsters began to neglect the Indian mainstream and depart from Hinduism and the Indianisation, followed by the idea of a revolt. To me they are not to be blamed. That is why I conclude that we are, from this point of view, semi and illegitimate Indians,

or abandoned Indians yet to be recognised by the Indian.

The Meeteis have reached a stage to solidly unite to save their identity and the land ( Manipur ) with full co-operation of their tribal blood-brothers by arousing them in both the Hill and Valley. We should not go and seek our saviour. We must save ourselves. We must not allow building walls of hatred around us. We must see the reason of knowledge and the value of unity at this critical hour when our existence is threatened and when we are asked to be extinct. The Meeteis should never forget that they were tribals by origin and even by now. Only then, they can see the light of the day of their survival. The Meeteis should correctly know their Indian bosses by Judging not from their words but from their deeds.

### **“A WAY TO SURVIVAL”**

The Meeteis can be saved either by joining the mainstream of their tribal brothers in the North-East by reducing to and declaring themselves to be tribals or by deliberately granting them, for their being Hindu Minority a special status in the Indian Constitution as Muslim minority in Kasmir, or by upgrading the tribals to the stage of non-tribals with the closure of the Indian dividing policy to rule the North-East in the form of a colony.

The Meeteis are the tribals in one sense which means that the Meeteis are a collective people of all tribals surrounding them, or else, the tribals are the descendants of the ancient Meeteis, the tribals.

There are many theories about the origin of the Meeteis. The theory of Brabubahan and Chitrangada ; the Theory of Koubru, Nongmaiching and Kangla when

mankind, the Meetei believed, on this earth began to settle down for the first time ; the theory that the Meeteis are originated from somewhere in China ( The Meitheis by T.C.Hodson, Asst. Political Agent in Manipur), the theory that the Meeteis are the by-product of the assimilation of the various tribal groups or communities surrounding the Manipur Valley which, the Meetei Chronicle upholds, was under water. I can not claim which theory holds true.

However I can't but uphold, to come to my point, that if we dig deeper and deeper into the origin and similarity of the languages ; of the Haraobas and Laiharaobas ; of the symbol of Kais ( for the Meeteis at Umang Lais ) ; the Khamba-Thoibi's legend and its popular epic and dramas ; the Moirang Kangleiron history and its traditional dances such as the Khamba-Thoibi dance with peculiar tribal dresses and feathers on the head together with the traditional Leishem and Loukhao Jagoi ; all those which relate to the origin of the Meeteis, their ancient culture, convention and tradition etc. show that the Meeteis are none other than a tribal and the tribals are none other than Meeteis. In one word, there is no reason for the Meeteis to isolate and antagonise themselves from their tribal brothers by merely and purposelessly calling themselves a non-tribal to depart from their brothers and to alienate themselves to their extinction. No doubt, this is a defective policy and I see no reason why the Meeteis should not join the mainstream of their tribal brothers.

The Meeteis are a double minority. Being a Hindu, they are absolutely reduced to a mere minority among their christian brothers in the extreme North-East and thus reduced to a handful of minority, compared to the Majority Christians in the hilly North-east of Nagaland, Mizoram, Meghalaya and Manipur etc. That they are non-tribal among the tribal population is also a

fact that the Meeties are indeed a minority. Moreover, this same Meetei, the minority Hindus in the extreme North-Eastern India, again represents their number ( population ) in India as a most pitiable minority. To speak the truth, the Meeteis are a minority of minority in India.

From this point of view, it is terribly surprising why the Meeteis who suffer from a double minority by virtue of their being a Hindu and of their joining the Union of India, should not be given a chance to survive in their homeland. Can you disclose the secret why India hasitates to safeguard the Hindu minority in Manipur when she does so in the case of other minorities even with a special status as in Kashmir? Is India anti-Hindu? Or, are the Meeteis an illegitimate Hindu or an abandoned or unrecognised Hindu? Anyway, it is India that kills Hinduism or Hindu religion in Manipur, and its consequence is a natural revolt from the Meeteis.

### **“ADMISSION OF REALITY”**

The Meetei must admit the history or the fact of their division that they are not only divided to remain isolated from their hill or tribal brothers but also divided up within themselves under different colours—religious, political, economic, social and so on.

Apart from the political division caused by different political ideologies, there are, from a religious and social analysis, three Meeteis which characterise different peculiarities and diversities. They are ( a ) the Hindu-Meeteis, the majority, which represent now the Meeteis as a whole. (b) The Meeteis, the revivalist non-Hindu Meeteis who, though small in number comparatively, are more stable and powerful than the former and threaten the existence of Hinduism in Manipur.

The success of the Meeteis, the non-Hindu Meeteis, is that they represent the younger generations who successfully revive the Meetei religion when the Hindu-Meeteis who represent the older generation are fighting a losing battle as the Hinduism in Manipur has already been betrayed by India and its leaders.

(c) The Christian Meetei : They are mostly the poor, the unemployed intellectuals and the 'Lois', etc. The 'Lois' are outcaste untouchable who are branded as a lower and untouchable people simply for their open opposition to the Hindu religion and a challenge to the validity of turning into the Hindu caste by the Meeteis when Hinduism was in its bloom in Manipur. It is said, the 'Lois' are pure Meeteis who preserve the Meetei identity and the Meetei religion.

The Meetei-Pangal ( the Manipuri Muslim ) can also be classified or named as a Meetei. It is wrong to call them Muslims only, excluding Meetei. For, they are Meetei in language and way of life despite their religion as Muslim. Their very name Meetei-Pangal indicates that they are Meetei. Besides, they are the people who share the will and woe of this land, whose home is none other than this little land Manipur. In some cases, the Meetei-Pangals are more Meetei than the Meeteis.

It is an undeniable fact that the division of the Meeteis only serves the interest of those who are hostile to and who want to build their own empire on the debris of the Meeteis. In fact, the Meeteis' unity is highly imperative. However, we cannot fulfill our aim even if we successfully break the artificial wall of hatred and disunity around us, and stand as a united body. The Meeteis have to realise that they are, without their tribal blood brothers, like a person of one leg—a handicap, in which they cannot go with their own legs and stand on their own feet. Therefore, the

**Meeteis must necessarily admit that they are a tribal community and the tribals are them.**

Without realising this historical fact, the Meeteis and their tribal brothers, who are divided under different names, believes, colours and influences, will certainly miss the very opportunity of their survival within their own land. We all must, therefore, unite, acknowledging the necessary conditions of reality and urgency. We must not allow ourselves to be played upon by others. In this critical hour of our survival, we should leave no stone unturned to seek our dear unity, understanding and love to save our Mother-Manipur.



**“ABSURDITY OF THE TERMS—THE HILL PEOPLE AND THE PLAIN PEOPLE—IS HOW FAR THE NAGA CHIEF MINISTERS AND THE OTHER TRIBAL DIGNITARIES ARE UNTOUCHABLE TRIBALS OR HILL PEOPLE, WHEREAS A BEGGER, IF HE IS A MEETEI, IS A NON-TRIBAL OR PLAIN PEOPLE TOUCHABLE AND HIGHER CLASS”**

History and legend reveal the fact that the Meeteis were originated from the hill and then settled down in the plain. According to our chronicle, the Manipur valley which the Meeteis used to live for several thousand years, had been under water. During that period it is but natural that the Meeteis had no alternative but to settle down in the surrounding hills as no one could inhabit in the said valley under water. Therefore, the Meeteis are unescapable from the fact that they are hill men, which means tribal. There is no theory which can negate historical facts. In order to recall and keep it alive that the Meeteis were once hill men (tribals), the Meeteis even today for their annual praying use to climb up their sacred Koubru and Nongmaiching hills in the form of the anniversary of their own origin. We have still a popular saying “Koubru Chingna Lemphuni” (the Koubru hill is our head)

It can not but be so concluded that, though comparatively advanced, the Meeteis are as much a tribal as the other tribals in Manipur and its surrounding. Again, that the Meeteis are tribals is supported by the fact that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his famous book, ‘The Discovery of India’ wrote of the languages that there were several number of languages in India but those of the Indo-Burma Border are simply tribal dialects. Hence, the very term “the plain people” for

which the Meeteis are particularly known and proud of is unfounded, absurd, vague, illogical and motivated etc. It is this falsely presumed or concocted term that debarred the Meeteis from being tribals and from joining the mainstream of their tribal brothers of the same blood and origin. It is the legacy of this term that the Meeteis be kept as a forbidden people with the declaration by India of the highly motivated and politically calculated "the Hill Autonomy of Manipur" which isolates the Meeteis and victimised them to be extinct.

Ironically, this declaration of the hill autonomy was maintained in the name of safeguarding the tribal minorities nominally but in reality to solve the Naga and Mizo insurgents in Manipur as a policy of appeasement. It is declared in order to serve the interest of some vested interests, despite the undisputable fact that the Meeteis are part and parcel a tribal people by then as well as by now.

Why then are the Meeteis branded as non-tribals? To wipe them out? If so, for what reason? For our being a Hindu? For our joining the Indian Union? For our loyalty to India and its great leaders? Or, for our disclaiming to secede to India unlike our Naga and Mizo brothers? This is indeed what the Meeteis are asking about. This is indeed what the people of the world are asking about. However, without any doubt, the Indian leaders and their answers are nearer the truth than our leaders or any one else.

Now to come to my point, it is generally agreed that the Meeteis were originated from the hills and inhabited in the plain or valley of Manipur. This same process is now being practised by our tribal brothers. Many of them are simply onetime 'hill men' but in fact are absolutely real and permanent plain people who are far more 'Plain' than the so-called plain people, the

**Meeteis.** No doubt, our honourable Chief Minister R. Keishing Naga is hundred times a 'Plain man' than those Meetei who cannot possess a single piece of land in the valley or anywhere else. If he and his cohorts still claim that they are hill people but not plain ones, I am sure there is a kind of standard in them. How can a poor landless Meetei be treated as a non-tribal, higher class and touchable people and at the same time the Chief Ministers, the Ministers, the big contractors, the high ranking officials, the rich and the well-to-do families etc. who have not only power and money in their hands but also possess a lot of landed property in the valley ( Manipur valley ) are, according to the so-called Indian logic, called tribals and lower class untouchable simply because of their being a Naga, Mizo or a tribal or the so-called hill men ? To be frank, I see no logic in this Indian logic ; rather it is the best nonsense of the logic.

In the final analysis, there is no hill people and no plain people (by hill, the tribal and by plain, the Meetei) in Manipur. And the theory of the "Hill Autonomy" is the best of nonsense, however legal it may be.

We must, therefore, in order to serve the great cause of our dear unity, negate these baseless biased terms "the hill people and the plain people" ; these very words are one of the factors of building walls of divisions around us. Because, the so-called plain people, the Meeteis, are indeed hill men, who descended from the hills while the so-called hill people are in fact a plain people, who not only settle down in the plain but rules the plain and the whole of Manipur. In fact, we are one people of the same origin and of the same land—brothers and sisters of the same flesh and blood.

We come to realise that we were and are divided up not by ourselves but by others to rule us to their convinience. We also realise that we, the people of

Manipur as a whole, are victims of the short-sighted Indian leaders who sow the seed of division and hatred among us under different pretexts or devices. What is unavoidable for us is that we must guard against and keep strict vigilance upon them so that there will be no more division in our important days to come.

The theory of success is unity, the unity not for unity's sake but unity in reality and action. When we stand united, none can cut our legs and fell us down. This is the way to Heaven against the way to Hell. When you love yourself, you must also equally love your brothers and sisters. You are living on this earth not to serve yourself alone but to equally serve others as well. Unity demands such a love and reason. It (the unity) is the life inseparable for us all. Losing it tantamounts to complete extinction of the whole people of Manipur. We must save our dear Mother-Manipur at the cost of whatever it demands.

“RIGHT OR WRONG, IF NOT DECLARED TO BE A TRIBAL,  
THE MEETEIS FIND NO ROOM FOR  
SURVIVAL IN INDIA”

Judging from their present position—the number of IAS, IPS, IFS and high-ranking officials—their economic prosperity together with political maturity which are far more advanced than the Meeteis, the Nagas or the Mizos or the Khashies or the Ahoms etc. can never be considered as tribals under any circumstances. They are far more non-tribal than the Meeteis, who have to pay the price of their stupidity and the blind loyalty.

I have tried all my best to prove that the Meeteis are more or less a tribal people. But what is contradictory to my effort is the fact that the Meetei society, before the Meeteis joined the Indian Union, has already developed to the stage of an advanced society which is very far from being a primitive or tribal society.

The Meeteis were a nation since the beginning of human history. They had fought several wars with the Chinese, the Burmese, the British and so on, in order to safeguard the sovereignty of their Meetei-land known as Meeteileipak, then Kangleipak and then Manipur. No one has the right to distort and twist these facts of history.

The Meeteis are a body of seven clans known as Shallais by the Meeteis. They are Mangang, Luwang, Khuman, Angom, Moirang, Kha-nganba and Chenglei etc. which are existing in the present Meetei society as a symbol of the Meeteis. One Shallai of the seven Shallais is not permitted to marry his or her own particular shallai but permitted any of the remaining six. Its aim is to intermarry the seven Shallais in the form of a customary and compulsory Meetei law so as to assimilate each of them by themselves into the body of the Meeteis, the nation. This is how the Meetei society does develop and advance. The Meeteis are even now maintaining this traditional social law of marriage. That is why we find now that every four families of the Meeteis are relatives. In this sense, the Meeteis as a whole are like members of a big family.

However, the peculiarity of the Meeteis lies in this that, even when they have developed their society, the Meeteis do not give up the very symbol of their tribalism. We come across tribalism in the popular Meetei Lai Haraoba in the Umang Lais with 'Kais' as the tribal or eastern symbol, in their peculiar but popular Pena, a type of musical instrument seldom found in the world ; in their Khulang Isei, a song which symbolises the Meeteis ; in their marriage, the Leirum ( a special kind of cloth ) the compulsory item for it ( till recently ) etc. It seems that the Meeteis are still keeping their tribal symbol alive with an aim to unite

and even assimilate with their remaining tribal brothers of the same flesh and blood

Is it the irony of history that the Meeteis who are one of the most civilised social beings in the world, have no alternative to survive or to save their own identity in India if they are not declared to be a tribal, rightly or wrongly? To them survival is primary, more important than whether a tribal or a non-tribal or any else. There is nothing a more sincere disclosure than this. As an only alternative, the Meeteis should be declared to be a tribal in the light of policy of the Meeteis' survival in the mainstream and the changing situation and development of the North-east and of India.

Of course, the Meeteis are a people of prestige and honour. When they are called a tribal, perhaps they might have revolted considering their social and historical backgrounds. However, I feel no hesitation to reveal the lapse of the Meeteis that they have to see reason why their Naga, Mizo, Khashi, Ahom and other brothers of the North-East remain still as a tribal which is the sole alternative in India to save their respective identities and characters (i.e. their ethnical, cultural and linguistic identities) against the mounting attack from various fields. Just as the Meeteis, they too are no more tribals, their society well-developed and their present political and economic positions even more higher than those of the Meeteis, the so-called non-tribals, though they remain to be a tribal simply being declared for their own convenience. The Meeteis must see the light of this fact.

Therefore, in the interest of the Meeties and their survival and considering their present position in India and in Manipur, I cannot but deal with where tribalism belongs to in the case of a Meetei, past and present.

My motive is indeed how to save the Meeteis from the mounting threat to its survival.

“With our joining the Indian Union,  
Colonisation appears upon the  
Indianisation, hand in hand with  
armed and other revolts.”

### **“WHAT DO THE MEETEI YOUTHS AIM AT”**

Why are our youngsters laying down their valuable lives ? The answer is simple. They realise, in the light of the changing situation in India and the North-East, that, when their Naga and Mizo brothers could successfully build their homes namely Nagaland and Mizoram ( Ram means land in Mizo language ), the Meeteis did lose their original home Meeteileipak which means land of the Meetei, indeed an old name of Manipur before Hinduism and before joining the mainstream of India by the Meeteis through the Manipur Merger Act, Oct. 15 of 1949, an act which our youngsters call an Indian annexation in the name of Merger.

Fulfil or not, our youngsters began to dream of a home, a motherland of the Meeteis, either within or without India. If they fail to build their homeland on the soil of the present India, they have to build it in Burma by restoring or regaining their lost Kabo Valley, back to them. “If we are anti-India, are they not anti-Meetei” is their popular saying.

Brave and heroic, our youngsters believe that the Meeteis are now being engaged in a War more severe than the “Chahi Taret Khuntakpa, a war that reduced the Meeteis population almost to nil and forced the Meeteis out of their homeland and scattered in different countries. The Meeteis might have been extinct by then if they had not defeated the strong invading Burmese army

in a protracted guerilla warfare, heroically waged under the leadership of Gambhirsing and Narasing, who rescued the near extinct Meeteis from the hand of the Burmese invaders. However, it is important to note that the Meeteis had defeated the Burmese with the support of the British.

How does the present Khuntakpa war more severe? Our youngsters feel that they are striking against two giants. When they are facing India, they can not be free from the Burmese assault, too.

Of course, the Meeteis are in search of a Gambhirsing and Narasing to guide and lead and rescue them in time. Otherwise, they will be no more. This is what our youngsters believe. They are of the opinion that their basic aim or ideology is to save the lives, the identity and the prestige of their people who are in need of a meaningful homeland. There is an allegation that they are simply misguided to sacrifice their lives without considering their own self for the welfare of their brothers and their people. However such an alleged misguidance is highly welcome and appreciated by every man of reason, particularly the Meetei patriots.

Our youngsters cite the motto of the Israilese who successfully set up their Home in the long run. They uphold that they must learn from the Israilese at least in making a free motherland. Just as the old days of the Israilese, the Meeteis too have been scattered in different parts of the world. They, therefore, became a victim of no motherland. Their consolidation is demanded for their survival. However, the restoration of their Home is the only right answer. This is what our youngsters aim at.

May be, the four-corner-wall of the jail keeps me isolated from my colleagues. Even so, I feel their pulse and am always with them. If I die here, I will be



proud of that I lay down my life for the cause I have been fighting and that I have my people to carry it ( the cause ) through to the end and that I have contributed my life to the cause of my people and my motherland.

**“WHAT LESSON THE MEETEIS HAVE TO LEARN  
FROM THE NAGAS AND THE MIZOS ?”**

In the North-East, we have Nagaland and Mizoram, the newly born Naga and Mizo homes. In the mean time, the Meeteis lose their own home, even though they were, unlike the Nagas and Mizos, a people who enjoyed an independent sovereign homeland since time immemorial

I see no reason why the Meeteis would like to lose their motherland in the name of shaping their fate and of a democratic Union, losing their rightful home even in India. Why should they voluntarily lose their identity and land in the name of nobility and liberalism ?

The Meeteis are the most stupid people, a fool of the fools. Even in their so-called deceptive homeland ( Manipur ), a Christian Naga called Rishang Keishing is their ruler as the Chief Minister and the state is being run on dictation by the Centre. It is better for the Meeteis to learn to satisfy even if they become the worm in the stool (lavatory).

It is said that the Meetei problem can never be solved until and unless they enjoy a free, meaningful motherland with the realisation of the unity and brotherhood of his North-East people, until and unless they fight, at least demand, for an independent and sovereign Meeteiland within or without India. The Meeteis have to learn from the Nagas and the Mizos at least in this respect. The Meeteis only alternative is, therefore, Meeteiland.

## **"INDIA AND ITS LEADERS REPRESENT THE IRONY OF HISTORY"**

Considering the Indian Govt's attitude towards me and my people, I hate to call myself Indian. I have tested the flavour of the Indian pudding. Indians are sour, no, bitter. Its law is blind and its Govt. has no room for justice and humanity. In short, India is barbaric. The so-called Indian democracy, the religious India, the land of saints and Gods, the old Indian tradition, the rich cultural heritage all come out to be a shield or a camouflage to conceal the dirty national image of India.

There may, perhaps, be a real and genuine India once upon a time. Yet the present India is an India in the hell of hell. India's past glory fails to hide its present tarnished dirty image. It is a legacy left behind by the social, political, economic and religious or cultural builders who guide and rule the people of India. It is by the effort of these Indian leaders that India develops in its material development but loses its people's moral values and civilisation. However, material development at the cost of people's moral value has no meaning. As if civilisation is their bitter enemy, the moral values of the Indians are too low for them to be a free people even after its 36 years of independence. That is why the social and political climate in India is rotten. In short, India lacks its national conscience. If she fails to reorganise politically, economically and socially, no doubt its future will be no more.

**Why is India in need of reorganisation ?**

Of course, there are many factors. But the primary one is that the Indian independence is not achieved

through an organised Indian revolution and that India still lacks competent leaders to lead its people in the political, economic and social fronts. This is unfortunate.

People in India even intellectuals and scholars plead that a Mahatma Gandhi was born in India as a result of which India could fight successfully against the Britishers with its non-violence, the only weapon which, every Indian believes, had driven the Britishers out of the Indian soil. Thus emancipated the people of India under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi who led his heroic war of non-violence. How far this theory is true ?

India is not the only British Colony set free from the British Empire. We have seen Burma, Pakistan, Bhutan, Sikkim ( now India ) and Manipur together with many other newly independent states where no Gandhi was born but achieved their respective independence as same as India. How could these countries of no Gandhi drive the mighty British out of their own countries and achieve independence ? Is it the Britishers who left their colonies at their own initiatives knowing that a foreign colony is not for a permanent set up and that a time has come to set their never-setting sun of the British Empire. It is yet to be correctly answered.

It may, however be added that, as the Britishers, who, it is said, are far-sighted and the most reasonable people in the world, knew how to colonise, they must have also known how and when to leave their colonies. From this point of view, the history of the Indian independence is to be studied much more carefully than before. The role of non-violence is to be studied even more carefully. What is still excluded in the history of Indian independence is the British consciousness of the success of non-violence, a heroic war without bloodshed, which it is believed, defeated the mighty British and build up an independent India.

My apprehension is that the Indian revolutions against the British are not well-organised and thus less successful. On the other hand, the Britishers are a far-sighted people. They could foresee that their departure from India was a must and only a matter of time. They knew the right person to hand India over. They also really foresaw that if India, after its independence i.e. their departure, fell into the hands of the Indian Communists, they had to suffer from two major mistakes. One is the failure to save their British properties and their British system in India. The other is the unchecked Communist expansion in the world which is more vital for their global strategy.

Therefore, the far-sighted Britishers are bound to keep Gandhi and his non-violent revolution alive and finally let it succeeded in order to save their own interest. I am an advocate of Mahatma Gandhi and his non-violence. What I mean is simply that this Gandhi-led revolution and its success is very much to do with the consciousness or the far-sightedness of those Britishers. The history of India more or less omits such a British contribution to the success of India and its war of non-violence. The Britishers rightly acknowledged that, in spite of an enemy for the time being, Mahatma Gandhi was a boon to them and the western world in whose eyes the success of Gandhi and his revolution was indeed a success of their own. Such a success prevents Communists expansion, saves their private and British properties, fails to raise an Indian armed revolution in a mass scale and finally prolongs their British rule over India and so on. So the success of the Mahatma's war of non-violence is not a success of India alone but a success of Britain and her western allies as well. In short, it is indeed a success of common interest.

I am of the opinion that if our Mahatma's non-violence war had been against Hitler and his cohorts,

who could not look afar like the Britishers, our Mahatma and his dream might not have been fulfilled. Instead, he ( Gandhi ) might have faced "Gas Chamber and Concentration Camp". It is also an undeniable fact that the World War II was one of the greatest factors that had set the never-setting sun of the British Empire. Therefore, it may also be added that the World War II helped fulfil our Mahatma's dream, at least its pace of success.

Why do the people of India lack conscience ?

First, Its revolution is one that could not bear competent leaders. Second, even after the Independence, Indian masses are not aroused, mobilised and united under a correct leadership.

At present, India is in need of a core of genuine leaders and correct leadership able to see the past Indian mistakes and correct them with an aim to pursue a new strategy suitable in the light of every changing situation of this diversified country. Without a strong core of a correct leadership, certainly India will break sooner or later.

India's strong and even mechanised army can hardly hold its unity, and save India from its balkanisation. In fact, the army is not the right answer. The answer is able leadership that can feel the pulse of the diversified Indians and lead them in accordance with their conscience — politically, economically, socially and religiously and so on. In short, the real answer is reorganisation of India politically, economically and socially etc. Never can the army solve the present problems in India.

Of course, the army may be necessary for containing and checking the unwanted developments and in controlling, not solving, the situation. Perhaps they may succeed, provided the situation is favourable.

But such a peace by the army is deceptive and temporary. It always leads to the further deterioration of the situation and does<sup>3</sup> miss the intending solutoin. Such a shock therapy by the army for the ailing body of India is indeed a wrong diagnosis, unwelcome and refutable.

Moreover, the army is for a genuine cause of defending the motherland from the external threat and uncontrolled uprisings in the home. Its use in the name of precautionary measure as a para-military force or a local police for a minor rude awakening is a sign of weak leadership. Its deployment through the Armed Forces' Special Power Act for a mere happening (the time army is deployed) in Manipur tantamounts to the invasion of the innocent people of Manipur. The then C. M. R.K. Dorendra Sing strongly opposed it but he was compelled to call in the army. If the call was not done under compulsion but done at his own will, perhaps he might have called the army to rape his mothers and sisters, and to minimise the power of his Chiefminister-ship. On the other hand, such a wrong and premature deployment not only loses the morale of the Indian army but also antagonises the majority population of Manipur from the mainstream of India as a consequence.

In fact, army is a boon for the insurgents. It is not the insurgents who mobilise and organise the people of Manipur in a broader scale to come to the path of armed revolution. It is the Indian army and their negative education that causes the people of Manipur to be anti-Mayang or anti-Indian. The army's wild combing operation in which innocents are brutally killed, women mercilessly raped and common people inhumanly tortured and forced to land in the underground, etc. is indeed a negative education that puts the masses towards the side of the insurgents who could win the heart of their people, ironically with the support of the Indian army.

The fact is that in Manipur, India has invented insurgency and is deeply engaged to counter it ( but not to solve it ) with its might of the Indian army. Before India opened the M-Sector in Manipur enforcing the Armed Forces' Special Power Act, the problem in Manipur was simply an internal provocation of the Manipur State, its extremely corrupt politicians being the root cause of it. However, as soon as army is brought to the scene, there appears or springs up insurgent movement in the style of the Urban Guerilla Warfare against the army. Why ?

Because, the people of Manipur consider that the sending of the army with a Special Power Act for a mere happening—one which is much lesser than that of the Naxalites for which no Bengal Sector or Bihar Sector was opened—is tantamount to the invasion of the innocent unarmed population of Manipur. Because, such a situation is rightly exploited by the people who are dreaming for an independent motherland not within the Indian Constitution. Hence in Manipur, without the army without the insurgency ; with the army with the insurgency. This is how insurgency is born in Manipur.

Ironically enough, the Indian army is dying for the cause pioneered by their political bosses, who invented the Manipur insurgency. True, the Indian army is being decorated with sufficient medals. But, are these medals really prestigious and honourable ? I don't think so. Does the Indian army come out with flying colours in their fight with the Manipur insurgents ? Are they engaging a heroic war ? Has the Manipur insurgency decayed or gone to the stage of no control ? Is it a heroic sacrifice on the part of those officers and men in the Indian army who were killed by the young insurgents ? How far the Indian army is brave and heroic when they kill the innocent boys and girls ? Of course, I conclude that the Indian army is a victim of the

weak Indian leaders. However, in the final analysis, Indian leaders are a victim of their own, that is, a victim of their own policy. It is indeed their policy that threatens the security of India, its integrity being hung with a mere thread. Therefore, it is concluded that the people of India are victimised by their own leaders and their wrong policy and that the failure of its timely change will inevitably kill India without giving a chance of its rebirth.

A popular saying in Manipur :

“Rape of girls is fashionable, combining operation romantic and innocent killing a legalised right”. This is the fate of Manipur in India.



**“WHETHER THE NON-VIOLENCE WHICH WAS  
APPLICABLE AND SUCCESSFUL IN BRITISH INDIA,  
IS APPLICABLE IN THE PRESENT INDIA ?”**

No, absolutely no. This is the right answr.

The war of non-violence is applicable and won only when it is waged against a conscious and civilised enemy. The alternative is chaos. The history of India does not make it sharp and clear, perhaps conveniently.

Is it possible that, without the consciousness and far-sightedness of the civilised Britishers, Mahatma Gandhi could wage and win his war of non-violence—a war that had defeated the mighty British and achieved the complete independence of India as advocated by Indian intellectuals.

How far is it true that the success of our Mahatma solely belongs to him and is attributed to his own genius only? Could Gandhi survive the same war of his non-violence. if, suppose, he fought against the Nazis or the Facists?

I uphold that the Britishers could see, as their valuable wealth or one dear to them, the necessity of Mahatma Gandhi and his heroic war of non-violence—a necessity during and even after the struggle of the Indian independence.

Firstly, they could save India from Communism and its expansion as a matter of their global strategy.

Secondly, they successfully installed their British system in India. The present political, administrative, judicial and defence systems in India, even after 36 years of independence, are very vivid examples. The British had gone; while their system still remains.

Thirdly, they could save their British property and lives, India being a non-communist but democratic country of the British system.

In short, the Britishers, in the interest of their global policy and their own self had to keep the Mahatma and his cause alive, encouraging his war of non-violence ; thus contributed to the success of Mahatma's War. We can see here the Britishers' political maturity and their class consciousness. In fact they found brotherhood in Mahatma Gandhi who fought against them. If the war of our Mahatma had been against Hitler, the Mahatma might have certainly faced "Gas Chamber and Concentration Camp", however a genius he might be. And the cause led by him might have been nipped in the bud. Here is how the Britishers did help Gandhi fulfill his genius directly or indirectly, covertly or overtly. Thanks to the British consciousness.

However, the perplexity or the irony of history is that after the British had left India, our genius of non-violence, the Father of the Indian nation, was brutally and mercilessly killed ( 30-1-1948 ) by his own people, an Indian, born on the soil of independent India. Till today, clouds of rumour are hanging above the Indian sky that there were political hands in the killing of Mahatma Gandhi. Though not established according to law, this is a fact in the spirit that the killer Nathuram Godse, himself being an intellectual elite ( a former editor ), had a close link with the then Indian leaders.

Considering this historical fact that even the sole undisputed leader and founder of non-violence, the great father of the whole Indian nation, found no room for his physical survival, his philosophy of non-violence becoming a mockery to the present Indian politicians with Gandhi-caps on their heads and Hitler in their

hearts, is non-violence applicable in India, and how much democratic, non-aligned and how much an origin of the non-violence may India be?

### **“INDIA’S THREAT IS INDIA ITSELF”**

India is a country I love dearly as dear as my life. Its ignorant leaders claim that its threat is not from within but from without, namely the Pakistanese, the Chinese or the CIA, etc. This is indeed the wistful thinking of the wise Indian leaders by whose effort the great and strong India is going to be balkanised in days to come. India is suffering from a wrong leadership. I am not a political pundit. Yet I know India and its leaders. I must, therefore, have the right to comment.

Of course, there is the external threat from across the border which is hardly to be neglected. But the greater one lies more from within than from without the country.

The external threat can be classified into two. One is the foreign aggression and the other is the foreign help to the revolutionaries or insurgents in India. True, the latter is an internal threat but external when develops to a certain stage.

How far is foreign aggression possible?

China is a bigger neighbour, stronger than India. However, it is busy in engaging its joint neighbour Russia and the Russian army in Afghanistan, the Vietnamese as well as its own internal build-up. Besides, Russia which is a real threat to China is a reliable friend of India, a friend in the critical hour of her need. The Indo-Soviet Friendship Treaty has again strengthened the reliability of the Russians in a much needed hour. Moreover, the present India is not the

India of 1962. On the other hand, the new Chinese leadership wants to establish friendship relation with India and approaches India with its commitment to end the border crisis through negotiation other than an armed conflict. In the light of this fact, China is a lesser threat to India.

How about Pakistan? Pakistan is a smaller country, much smaller than India. In spite of its military modernisation with highly sophisticated weapons, I don't think Pakistan will commit such a blunder of attacking India. For, Pakistan can avenge India without invading it directly. It can teach India the same lesson India taught the Pakistanese in the erstwhile East Pakistan, now Bangladesh. It is a lesson of "a land for a land in the form of an eye for an eye". When they have such a comparatively easier alternative to avenge, I see no reason why Pakistan should take the harder road.

The defeat of Pakistan by India in the 1971 war is a military defeat of Pakistan and the same time a political and moral defeat of both the United States and China. It is also a success of the Soviet Union over the US and China. From that war, in which several thousand of Indian soldiers laid down their lives, what India has gained is nothing but an ill-will and a life-long enmity with these defeated countries, particularly Pakistan, apart from the stringent Indo-Soviet Friendship Treaty. Such an enmity may perhaps turn someday into a time-bomb to be switched on by these defeated countries in the heart of India. Ironically enough, the result of the war is that India, by its own effort did earn or gain two enemies instead of one only, namely Pakistan and Bangladesh—"Kongjeng Kokfai India-na Hotnagai hotnaraga mananganda marum thure".

In one sense, it can be said that this is a total and overall success of the people of Bangladesh over India politically and Pakistan militarily. The

Bangladeshies knew how and when to hit and utilise their enemies. They achieved their freedom through a liberation war on the one hand and on the other by a strategy of getting India directly involved in and thereby driving the Indian army into the scene of their own war against Pakistan which they cannot beat alone without India. Therefore, the success of Bangladesh is a success politically over India while militarily over Pakistan. It is a success of all successes.

If India imagines that it has, out of that war, built an iron morale of the Indian army, it is nothing but a wistful thinking. Because, a military success at the cost of political success is a funny theory of success, ignorant and meaningless, no doubt. If India wins the military battle, Bangladesh wins both the military and the political battles. Therefore, in this sense, Bangladesh may be treated as a product of the defeat of both India and Pakistan. The defeat of these two giant countries is, indeed, a great success of Bangladesh

I don't minimise the heroic struggle and the heroes of Bangladesh who liberated their country. I am simply dealing with India and its success and national gain out of the 1971 conflict. Many critics speak of the great success of India. I am really opposed to their theory of success, their apprehension of the War. I might have agreed with them, if Bangladesh had been a Bangladesh of Shiekh Mujibur Rehaman. But the day Mujibur Rehaman was killed by his own people, I suddenly realised that India made only a temporary success but a permanent defeat and that it was India that finally lost the 1971 war. Therefore, I conclude that the Indian success is a tactical success but a strategic failure and that Pakistan can see a success in its own defeat.

Perhaps India might have miscalculated that if Bangladesh was liberated, the activities of the insurgents

in the North-Eastern Region could be contained. But here is Burma, a home-paradise of the revolutionaries or the insurgents. Besides, even after the creation of Bangladesh, the North-east insurgents regained their lost paradise in Bangladesh. I am actually at a loss what actually India gains out of the 1971 WAR, except a waiting Pakistani revenge—a land for a land—with the help of the US and China both of which need a moral success over Russia as an answer to their humiliating defeat in the 1971 Indo-Pak War. This is, I think, the greatest threat to India's security, and this threat is by the grace of India's stupidity. India should not further commit such a mistake in Sri Lanka and the other neighbouring countries.

If we dig deeper into where the real threat to India lies, we need not go and search around the world. India's threat is India itself. India creates/invents problems for India, and not that problems sprout themselves for India. Again, India wants to solve the problems created by itself. Once again, she complicates the problems in the course of solving it.

Surprisingly, when Indians tried to tackle a handful of the Naga and the Mizo insurgents, they antagonised the whole or the Majority population of the Nagas and the Mizos. The same is exactly true in Manipur, too. They invented insurgency in Manipur and in the name of solving it, they antagonised the whole Manipur population. In this sense, it can be rightly said that India supports the Manipur insurgency, because it is natural for the antagonised populace to side with the insurgents who can't survive without its support. So, it is not surprising to maintain that the Manipur insurgency is active by the blessings of India. On the other hand, with the insurgency the Indian army and the other security forces are facilitated in seizing an opportunity for the prestigious war-time medals and

decorations through a luxurious war in Manipur. At the same time, the Indian leaders in Manipur enjoy a non-stop of the pipeline from the Centre. In short, the present insurgency in Manipur serves the interest of both the camps, surprisingly enough. I see no reason why the Manipur insurgents should not wish the Indian leaders and the Indian army good luck for keeping their insurgency active and stronger. I feel that people are seeking their personal interest or gain at the cost of national interest. This is the inherent defect of the Indian leaders who are putting India above a volcano.

### **“THE MEETEIS’ LAPSE OF THE SIMPLE KNOWLEDGE OF LEARNING”**

How do the North-Eastern revolutionaries survive the mounting counter-insurgency operations by the Indian Army? Is it because of their (insurgents) foreign training, modern arms, favourable terrains and their knowledge of guerilla warfare tactics? No, inspite of all these above factors, the insurgents can hardly survive if they are not supported by their people, such strong support being the greatest factor to keep themselves alive and their cause succeed. So long as they remain supported by their people, so long as the Govt. fails to isolate them from the masses of the people, the power of the Indian army even with atom bombs in their hands can not destroy them. This shows, people's strength is all in all and the Indian leaders are near realising the people and their strength. Such a realisation is the only alternative for them. It is better for them to learn how a revolution does succeed.

Of course, the success of a revolution lies not on the hundred thousand modern arms and the piling up of a mountain of ammuniton, not on how much of

the enemy forces has been wiped out, not on how much the revolutionaries are supported by the foreign powers, etc. Its success lies on the dedicated revolutionaries who can command strong conscious support of their own people, on their power of resistance, not temporary but a permanent or lingering resistance—a resistance till success. Such a resistance is possible only when the revolutionaries are able to enjoy their people's strong support i.e. the conscious support of their own people. Without this support, there is no meaning of international or any other support.

By the by, a carpenter possesses no knowledge of a Goldsmith; likewise, the Goldsmith no knowledge of the Blacksmith. Similarly, a doctorate in history and sociology knows little of a revolution. In fact, a revolution is not one to be studied by comfortably sitting in a class-room or a laboratory hall under a veteran revolutionary. It is learnt only in the real theatre of revolution which means that a revolution learns only through a revolution. The Meeties are yet to learn this simple knowledge of learning. It is for everybody's knowledge that a successful revolution is upto the dedicated revolutionaries.



**“IS THERE ANY LIFE IN THE HAND OF AN ENEMY,  
IF HE IS ONE OF THE UNCULTURED AND  
BARBARIC HUMAN”**

Is not it hypocritical that India is a democratic country? In this country of one of the largest democracies in the world, how a prisoner was put under hostile interrogation while in judicial custody is not a fiction or a novelty.

It was the Superintendent of the Naini Central Prison, Allahabad, who had handed me over to the Brigadier of the Indian army for an interrogation inside the dark room of his ( the S.P's ) judicial custody without a legal sanction from the Court of law. The Superintendent commanded me saying “Mr. Bisheswar, you are to be interrogated by this gentleman, the brigadier”.

The Brigadier took me to a dark room, somewhere inside the jail compound, where he did his military-like interrogation, hostile and brutal. He could break me in no time. He was fortunately facilitated by the deteriorating condition of my health, the uncontrolled asthma attack along with severe kidney ailment. This is perhaps purposely done by the jail authority who by putting on me big fetters on both of my legs, threw me inside the death cell. The cell is dark and locked up for 24 hours. Meanwhile, I was served with poor food and limited number of three dirty thick blankets insufficient for an asthmatic patient like me in such a solitarily confined room which had no window to get fresh air in and sun light. No doubt, an undertrial prisoner in such a death cell ( the cell in which only the condemned prisoners are lodged ) is indeed an act of a land of no law and justice. And, the said hostile interrogation is even more.

My interrogator was cruel. He had no human heart. He threatened my life till I prayed to him not to kill me, with folded hands as if I prayed to God. It was the time of my dark days. The jail doctor immediately gave me Decadrone injection, Betnalan tablets and other necessary drugs. Even so, hardly could my asthma be controlled. However, the interrogation goes on. I feel the moment that Indians have no humanity in their heart.

Six times I fainted in my solitary room, all during the night as a result of that the room was not permitted to open. The jail doctor used to arrive when the day broke and when I did regain my consciousness back to myself by the grace of God. I do not know why a democratic and religious India is so barbaric and inhumane like a land of no justice of law and no norm of legal Govt.

After serving my one year term of National Security Act (NSA) in the Naini Prison in solitary confinement, I was again solitarily kept at the Leimakhong Military Headquarters, Manipur, in the dark room with hand-cuff in both of my hands. The hand-cuff was applied for 24 hours and fixed upon by an iron chain whose length was so limited that I fail to stand erect and sleep properly.

Of course, the army supplied enough blankets for me. But they provided me with a very poor and limited meal—three Chapati and Dal. The vegetable being potatoe only, I did avoid it simply. I did not know why they disallowed me to get at least free air by simply opening a window pane. And what is the meaning of making the room dark. Perhaps they might have presumed that sunlight was my enemy in spite of my being an organic cell of human body. Every alternate or three days I compelled them to inject me with Decadrone, without which my asthma could not be

controlled. Even so, proper food and fresh air and sunlight were out of the question, and the handcuff was yet to be relieved. Of course, the army had an excuse that, according to them, I should be taken care of by the jail authority and that the medicines required for me was to be sent by the said authority. I found shortage of medicines with them.

I admit that the army showed me good behaviour there at Leimakhong. They also allowed me to enjoy good food and fresh air and removed the handcuff, when I was about to be shifted to the Manipur Central Jail, Imphal. I stayed at Leimakhong for about ten months.

I have many a disease with me. They are Chronic asthma, Kidney stone ( operated in 1978 apart from my two other operations at the lower abdomen ), diabetes, old cases of tuberculosis and amebic hepatitis for which treatment I was hospitalised at the Dibrugarh Medical College, T.B. Ward, in the year 1974 and paragonimiasis for which I have already been treated but recurred most possibly. All these diseases are medically confirmed.

Unluckily, when I had to contain my own diseases, I was bound to face the mental and physical tortures as a prisoner or a captive or a defeated enemy. I feel that my life itself is a fiction in real life, the real life being one yet to begin. I know the agony of life, I share its tragedy in real life, I love it. For their humanity and concern, I appreciate those who took me to the Manipur Central Jail, Imphal.

I do not know the rules of law in India. I am doubtful of its value, its legality and justice. They said I was as much a prisoner as others. Therefore my confinement in the army headquarter for about ten months after one year's solitary confinement in the

Naini Prison was legal and a just act, according to them. No jail authority or not a single prisoner was seen there. None but army personnel guarded me. However, they legalised and justified such a confinement according to the rule of law. An army platoon under one major was deployed exclusively for the said cell I was being confined. Guards with rifles fixed with pointed bayonets were standing by the side of me. People there used to call the major as O.C. Cell. Leimakhong. However, at the entrance, there was a signboard written 'Sub-jail, Leimakhong' on it. I witnessed no norm of a judicial custody there but purely and technically a military quarter-guard. I am yet to convince for myself whether it is a judicial custody in democratic India.

However, the most unfortunate one is that at Leimakhong I had taken contaminated food served for me. As in other cases, I didn't complain to the O.C. of the so-called Sub-Jail as I couldn't but take it most seriously. Instead, I kept some sample with me. I brought it upto the Imphal Central Jail where the jail authority seized it during the bodysearch. Immediately I disclosed that I had been administered this substance and handed over the substance personally to the Superintendent and requested him to identify it with the the help of a chemist and get me necessary medical treatment accordingly. I did remind him as a part of my request to keep the process as a business between us two only. He gave me his assurance.

Months gone by. And yet, there was not any positive response from him ( the S.P. ). To add to the worse, there appeared some unnatural development i.e. lack of sensation in the Central and backward portions of my head. Besides, I am out of normal, lose memory seriously and there is a severe muscle cramp and stomach and intestinal disorders etc.

With such an undesired abnormality increased day by day, I stopped merely requesting him but pressed to consider my deteriorating health by examining the very substance now in his possession and I felt that in spite of his promise, he had turned a deaf ear. I, therefore, attempted to find other alternative.

**My effort :** While searching the alternative, I requested the Chief Judicial Magistrate, Central, to let me have an interview with O. Tomba, MLA before his presence.

**Why did I choose O. Tomba ?**

In this critical moment when my life was in danger, all my efforts to meet any one close to me were in vain. Therefore, my only alternative was O. Tomba who belongs to my locality, his residence being at a stone's throw from my home. Besides, we were local brothers who helped each other since childhood.

During the interview, I repeatedly told him the way to get the administered substance, the examination of it by a chemist and the medical treatment accordingly, and requested that the whole process be kept within ourselves only and not published. However, it was published in the press right the next day, as I was so informed. Accordingly, I came to know that, as if a fool, I did publicity at the cost of my immediately necessary treatment ; thus ended the whole of my attempt in smoke. None but me was to be blamed in this respect.

**My dilemma :** I wanted to conceal that I had been foodpoisoned by administering me some unknown chemicals. Surprisingly why ?

To be frank, it has something to do with my personal interest. I presumed that, if complained right at Leimakhong, they might have repoisoned me even more sophisticatedly and systematically. In the Imphal

Jail too, the S.P. had to defend the Govt. himself being a Govt. servant, intelligent and dutiful. No doubt, his is to save the image of the Govt. as he is paid for it. In case the news of foodpoisoning had gone in the air, he must certainly destroy the needed substance of chemical now in his possession. That means I am the loser in the game. What is most urgent for me is a timely medical treatment other than a publicity. Publicity at the cost of treatment is not in the interest of mine. For, with the publicity I know that the required substance will be no more and that even if I be given a medical treatment, they may re-poison me, if the Govt. so wish.

I attempted to keep the substance with me but failed to do so. I was, therefore, compelled to disclose my motive which was indeed a medical treatment without a hue and cry. In fact, our S.P. was too conscious to know me. He kept mum inspite of my last attempt threatening him that I would complain to the Court about my foodpoisoning I might have not taken this course of action of seeking help of O. Tomba, if the S.P. had been in my favour and if I had been able to convince him. I am not trying to shift the blame on to his head as if a careerist, I am simply embracing him here to prove my sincere motive that I need medication other than blaming or exposing anyone in the absolute interest of mine.

Timidly and cowardly, I was worried about my mere life that I would be re-administered with more sophisticated poison or killed under some device. It is indeed pitiable that I have broken down beyond measure. No more can I come back to my original position physically, mentally and morally. I am a dying man but surprisingly I am scared of my death. I advised and taught my men to dedicate their lives and sacrifice heroically for the cause we believe in and for the

welfare of our brothers, introducing them that such a dedication is called conscious sacrifice necessary for the betterment and prosperity of our people and our nation.

I admit that I am a man of standard. I fail to observe my own principle, my own teaching. In short, I am easily cowed down by the mere fear of death. This is indeed an irony of my so-called heroism, being a revolutionary or a patriot. I feel that I should not be excused. Generation after generation, I should be labelled and rightly called a coward. Only then, myself and my soul will rest and satisfy to the place where my friends had gone permanently—gone heroically unlike me for other's sorrows. In spite of an invented lying by my enemy, it is well appropriate, for a person like me, the newspaper report that Bisheswar did surrender to his enemy. I must be called a surrendered and be put to death forthwith. This is my desire.

In this last hour of mine, my heart is bleeding when I did, inspite of all my best effort to forget anyhow, recall that I bowed down my head with praying hands, my palms folded, begging him not to kill me when he threatened my life during the time of interrogation inside the compound of the Naini Central Prison, Allahabad. I admit that the army commander, the brigadier in the Indian army, who broke my head is indeed 'a hero'; whereas I am 'a coward'.

Now I am quickly coming to the Leimakhong army custody in the process of my restless writing. Why I be served the Left-over food? No, I will not break my heart. I have to admit that a coward like me is a sub-human, no, I am a lesser creature. I must be sent to Hell with shackles and fetters. I am a sinner of sinners, the devil of devils and the coward of cowards. Why should not I be punished and killed?

Now in order to come to my own topic and to conclude it accordingly, I am putting my dilemma in black and white. Besides my own personal interest, perhaps selfish in its motive, I have some more reasons for which I would like to conceal the poisoning episode. As if a general trend or the go of the day in India, I could see the readily acceptable scape-goat to be massacred or squarely blamed upon, as soon as I did complain. Those scape-goats are none other than my poor Indian brothers, the mere soldiers, who are at other's command, who are serving only to fill their stomach. I can not but love such a poor, helpless brothers like me even at the cost of my own life. It is my moral duty, myself being a hunger and homeless. We the hungry poor belong to the same fate and destiny, as if misfortune has already been written on our fate.

Except this simple expression, perhaps contradictory to myself, I have none in my possession to get you convinced and confident intellectually, dear friends. Contradictory, most possibly, because my writing is not for the purpose of investigation or any other else but simply for recalling my miserable past which I want to express with my best sincerity and honesty in the name of the great Almighty. Thank you.



## **“OF THE GANDHI PEACE CAMP AND ITS MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING”**

The Govt., through their leaflets namely “the Gandhi Peace Camp” and “An Appeal by the Govt. of Manipur” appealed to the Manipur insurgents to surrender with their weapons within a limited period fixed by them. They celebrate it as a “home coming day” of the insurgents. They shed tears for their being misguided and persuaded them to return to the normal life and join the national mainstream. In the course of it, they boldly wrote in the said official leaflet “extremists are our children”. Indeed, it is beyond my power to refute the Govt. and their writing. However, I can not but come to my own logic that any Govt. that admits extremists are their children, become a guardian of the extremists. Thanks to the Australian game—boomerang. Here is my article “Much ado about nothing”.

### **‘MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING’**

Sophisticated guardians of the 20th Century remains fixing on their children’s surrender as a must.

Extremists, the children of our nation’s destiny, are not our enemy. Instead, our hearts are overflowed by the love of them. Hence, their surrender is a must for their being not an enemy but a dear ones close to our heart.

Dear extremists,

Surrender is for your normal peaceful life as if your home-coming. Six months protection is guaranteed by us. If you get killed by your comrades after the periods of guarantee, it is proved that you dedicate

your life for the cause of SURRENDER. Hold high the banner of surrender. We are the advocates of peace. Peace at the expense of surrender is not our motto. We plead for a genuine solution without falsifying it.

Our Peace Camp is to safeguard you and your physical harm from the hell of surrender. You will never be a victim of surrender in the hand of your comrades. For, we guarantee your lives in our Peace Camp for a period of six months.

Long live the Peace Camp,  
Your future, the SURRENDER,  
Surrender conscious is a must,  
We are all for you.

With parental love,  
the Government of Manipur  
the guardian of the extremists.

As the "extremists are our children" to the Govt. so it is unmistakably correct to entitle this legally established Government as a good guardian of the extremists. Thus something boomeranged. Thanks to this loophole.

**N. Bisheswar.**

## **“MANIPUR, A LAND OF JEWELS”**

In this little paradise on earth as upheld by our critical writers, I find no paradise and no Switzerland in Manipur. Rather, this little land is a hell on earth where the bright sun never shines.

Generally, the people of this land keep their own standard, well-dressed, clean and their faces ever smiled. They are romantic people of modern plays and dramas in real life with their rich cultural and religious heritage. But the question which arises is whether they are also morally clean, socially well-dressed and politically maintaining their standard.

Can anybody claim a phenomenon as a reality, the cast-off-skin ( snake skin ) a real snake ?

Is there anybody who can cleanse our society with corruption, wine and women, which are the life and blood of our political leaders as if these are a gospel to them without which they perish ?

While we are politically doomed, economically bankrupt and socially disordered, our moral value is also too low and even degenerated. What is looming large over the Manipur sky is open corruption, rampant and unchecked, political murders, armed encounters, innocent killings, mass raping, robbery, blackmailing and all those which are far from the norm of civilised world.

Presumably, these developments are a healthy sign to some vested interests who want to build their empire ( which means political gain ) on the debris of our innocent people. However, it is an agony for the masses of Manipur. This is exactly the clear picture of the once little paradise, now a hell on earth, the beautiful land of Manipur.

I can not but refute the advocate of optimism when we are on the peak of ruins and our people are learning to live with murderers and combing operations. Atrocity is our present ; while obscurity our future. As if our fate is forfeited, we are not destined to the happiness of life and comfortable home. Manipur is a setting sun and a falling star comes out to be a phrase much in use.

Will Manipur not survive ? Has it sunk like a wrecked ship ?

No. Why should we lose our heart in order to lose the battle of our life ? We believe in our ancient Meetei belief or saying that the darkest night is the sign of dawning—“*Chingkhei Hulla-di Nongallabani*”. It shows that there appears a ray of hope, as our suffering has reached the stage of the darkest night.

However, sitting around lamenting bygone days and feeling sorry is not our motto as it won't do one a damn bit of good for us. To turn the bane into boon, to resurrect and to march on, is our principle.

### **“WITH FESTIVALS IN LOVELY MANIPUR”**

Does not Thabalchongba the backbone of Yaoshang ( Holi ) ? Without Thabalchongba can Yaoshang alone be perfect ? Likewise, without Yaoshang is there any meaning in the festivals of Manipur ?

Of course, we are people busy counting the days of the grand arrival of festivals. No wonder, without festivals without Meetei life. Festival addicts are we who adore merry-making. It becomes the life-blood of the present Meetei Society, its culture as well as religion being festival-oriented. Nobody can stop aging. The young girls of today are the mothers of tomorrow, the young boys are the fathers of the next generation. They

have thus every right to hold all festivals in their breast and heart. This is only one aspect.

On the contrary, the Meetei Society has been put backward by the heart-thrilling festivals. One and all, irrespective of age, get intoxicated by the lust of heavily engaged festivals throughout the year, thus failed to fulfil the prime work and the principal task in the tenure of their valuable life-time and thereby devalued the importance of life and its duty. So honestly blind we are to the mere follies. Festivals should not end but must reduce its excess.

Contrary to the civilised society, in Manipur we keep on maintaining our standard of new fashion and model cutting (shirts and pants) merely at the expense of daily meals. Of course, we are rich in new fashions at a time when poverty becomes a fashion of our society and corruption romanticised. This harmful trend caused by the grace of our too much excess in festivals, is unchecked but rather encouraged. Perhaps willingly, we want to kill our valuable future.

With Yaoshang ( Holi ) our youngsters bloom in the garden of love ; Romeos and Juliets dance hand in hand ; eyes meet ; hearts melt. To them, here is the heavenly garden, perhaps an Eden on this sinful earth. But we know it is not the longing Eden but rather the forbidden fruit which the Satans of the hell-earth purposely insist on taking to turn the innocents into Devils and to pull down our youngsters not to go to Heaven.

With taking the forbidden fruits, our youngsters began repenting, but found themselves in the ocean of illusion, their golden season and the seed time of life being nipped in the bud—Sweet Yaoshang and bitter future.

## **“AGITATIONS IN MANIPUR”**

(a) The belief that only monkey-trick can yield better result is a counsel of evil-mongers. Political society in Manipur has undergone a sea of change since the bizarre caused by the belief known as 'political promise'. It is the legacy of this promise that bears present unrest in Manipur such as strikes, demonstrations, violent and non-violent agitations etc. Agitations in Manipur recall that a promise believable is only of politicians and honourable ministers. May I hope that, without a promise highly political, the agitationists here can hardly be pacified.

(b) In Manipur, we have a new norm of dealing with the agitationists or strikers. Police action is common phenomenon. Our efficient police is not number two in this phenomenon. However, our peculiar norm of unfulfilled promise is attributed only to our most honourable ministers, the leader of our people. If they are not inferior to any of their counterparts, I think they are certainly superior to them, at least in making a promise, a false promise. We are proud of them.

(c) I can not pinpoint where the blame lies when agitations become the order of the day. One agitation after another is the norm. Without protests and strikes, nothing can be fulfilled here in Manipur. So agitation is the motto of any demand. It becomes the go of the day. I wonder how our ministers and the MLAs remain silent. They too must have an agitation of their own or join agitations of their people. Otherwise, they stand alienated.

(d) Democracy is the home of agitations. The right to strike or agitate is guaranteed. We should not miss it. If this is the motto of the agitation (particular

agitation manoeuvred by oppositions or ministers from behind the scene), the agitationists are no doubt champions of democracy. The lovers of democracy must support it ( the agitation ).

(e) Our poor state Manipur is rich in strike. Institutions are a strike-oriented ; while our political leaders are promise-makers or agreement-oriented.

Promise, false or not, is a political smoke-screen that has its uses in the battle of putting down striking agitationists. In fact, it is an art for the agitationist-charmers, the ministers, just as the snake for the snake-charmers. Everything is relevant, in this battle of promise or charming. A Gandhi Cap on top of their heads, our ministers would not hesitate in upholding 'end justifies the means'. No matter how dirty, mischievous or terrible, our ministers have to make repeatedly many a false and unfulfilled promises. No doubt, these are promises of a temporary and deceptive peace at the cost of, perhaps a permanent solution. This serves them their interest. It is true such a promise is for the ministers, of the ministers and by the ministers who are ever-winners. Are not our ministers serving our people with better results and bright prospect ? Their sincerity is genuine and unquestionable. If we need something more than their sincerity, I hope we must learn the discipline of patience and perseverance. This is one side of the coin.

On the other side is the politically oriented strikers ( only particular ones ), who know how and when to use their politically guided nuclear-warheads. When they destroy their target with their multiple warheads of powerful agitation, I am sure they bag the trophy for their winning the game. But the real winner is perhaps someone in the Cabinet or some opposition parties.

Shall I remain an independent spectator in this battle of tug-of-war over political game ?

(f) May I propose on behalf of our people a popular demonstration or agitation to establish a political system to install a non-Manipuri Chief Minister appointed by Delhi from outside Manipur other than an elected local one by our people's mandate, in the interest of the people of Manipur, in the light of the present political development in which the Chief Minister is enthroned here by the order or blessing of the Centre so that no R.K. Dorendra Singh may go as "Ambassador to Norway."

May I comment, he ( Mr. Dorendra ) is Ambassador to nowhere. On his journey to Norway he missed his 'R' i.e. the word R of NO (R) WAY. So by his own fault, he had been merely reduced to the 'Ambassador to No Way.'

I hope our people are agitation conscious, though nobody is impressed by the conventional agitation any more. In the mean time, I am drawing your attention that it is by the Grace of God that we be ruled by others and on dictation and that our heads, to be appreciated, should remain bending low.

In a land of the lame and the dumb, we need a condescending saviour to lord over us with his muscle other than justice and humanity. Why should not we be a camel only to have our last straw !! Why should not we be the beast of burden only to serve our master ! We must lay down our lives for the service of our master's cause.

In their free-lance opinion, our people just welcome the Government that comes from Delhi, the Chief Minister being nominally elected by the State Assembly but in reality appointed directly by the Centre. If somebody uses to call this a legally established Government, he is definitely ill-informed.



## **“A CRIME OF THE CENTURY”**

I request you, sir, to look back the past 1980 scene of Manipur, the moment when the Army is deployed to counter the then so-called insurgent movement in the plain or valley of Manipur. Of course, the army (the Indian army ) is equipped with the Armed Forces' Special Power Act, Assam-Nagaland 1958, and with this special power they began their brutal combing operations, which I want to term “encirclement to rape and kill”.

I want to bring back the then 1980 scene only to prove whether such a deployment was matured or prematured at that very hour. True, by then, there appeared PREPAK and PLA together with the activities of these revolutionary or insurgent organisations.

But the questions which arise are :

- (a) whether there was any foreign hand involved in either of the two organisations ?
- (b) whether there arrived any foreign arms to support the insurgents ?
- (c) whether the then insurgents were real ones, foreign or any sort of trained insurgents ?
- (d) Whether the insurgents attacked and killed the Indian army by then. (It was worth mentioning that the Manipur Valley was a sweet peaceful home of the Indian army who was containing the Naga and Mizo insurgents in the unfavourable terrain of the Manipur hills and the surrounding Nagaland and Mizoram. But with the combing operation in the Manipur Valley, the Army lost its sweet rest home. They had to contain the Urban Guerilla War, instead ) ?

- (e) whether the situation or the threat caused by the PREPAK and the PLA was as critical as the then situation developed by the Naxalbari Movement ?
- (f) whether the situation was out of control of the State Government of Manipur ?

It is a fact that none of the above charges can be made against the then PREPAK and PLA of 1980. The Govt. can not put such an allegation at any cost that the situation was out of control.

Considering this fact, is it a wise decision on the part of the Govt to open the ( M. Sector ) which means the Armed Forces' Special Power Act in Manipur in 1980 ?

Considering the fact that the then PREPAK and PLA are not as strong as the Naxalites in Bengal, Bihar and UP, and that, compared to the Naxalites, the then PREPAK and PLA are not half an insurgent or revolutionaries, I see no reason why the Government open the Manipur Sector which empowers the Army with the Special Power Act., whereas the same Govt. did not open any Bengal Sector or Bihar Sector or UP Sector, even though the then revolutionaries there (the Naxalites ) were hundred times bigger and stronger than those of Manipur Valley in 1980. West Bengal is a border state like Manipur and also as sensitive as Manipur. But there was no Bengal Sector ( the Armed Forces' Special Power Act ) even if the then Naxalite activities were on the peak and hundred times bigger than those of the PREPAK and the PLA of 1980.

Taking the above fact into account, it is concluded that the opening of the Manipur Sector in 1980 is indeed politically motivated. But technically, it amounts to the invasion of the innocent unarmed people of Manipur, the PREPAK and the PLA and other organisations being used as an excuse for the undeclared war.

I have my own view that the development in Manipur in the year 1980 can not be treated as an insurgent movement. It was also not a threat to the security of India and its integrity. Nothing sort of such a question of disintegration of India arose by then. Rather, it was a just struggle for the unfreed Indians against the freed Indians who are known as the Delhi people—a struggle to be supported by all sections of the people. The Centre had nothing to do with it by then i.e. the then Central interference was totally meaningless.

This is proved by the fact that purposely, the then PREPAK and the PLA did not attack and kill the Indian army, though the army personnels were open and exposed and freely moving even individually without guard and protection in the Imphal City and its suburb. In fact, the PREPAK and the PLA had nothing to do with the Indian army by then. It was the army's combing operation and its legacy that the army was being assaulted by the PREPAK, KCP, Red Army and PLA etc. as a result of which the present urban guerilla warfare was born.

Now the Govt. have to contain a guerilla war invented by them. Therefore, they are busy looking for a readily acceptable scape-goat. The Centre is pleading that it is the State Govt. that called in the Army. However, an official secret reveals the fact that the then Chief Minister R.K. Dorendra Singh, who was finally compelled to sign to call in the Army under the Arms Forces' Special Power Act, opposed the sending of Army by the Centre. Such an opposition by him is one of the important factors that makes his fall (Dorendra) from the throne of Chiefministership.

Therefore, in the final analysis, it comes out as an established fact that the Armed Forces' Special Power Act, prematurely enforced in Manipur in 1980 Sept. 8, is, in the eyes of our people, a smoke-screen to hide the

camouflaged invasion on our innocent populace by the Govt. For, it isolates them from the masses of Manipur. For, it meets a retaliatory action and causes insurgency in Manipur.

Now, the camouflaged face has been exposed and it irritates the Govt. Of course, the said arms invasion was under an assumed name, viz. Armed Forces' Special Power Act. However, we could see the hidden face and the act of invasion even if it was disguised and under false pretences.

In fact, the trouble with those, who are sitting above a volcano presuming that they are perfectly safe if only they make the most hideous colonial programme by negating the strength of the people and their irresistible history, is that they are still living in the fool's paradise

Of course, human beings are not fault-free. But intentional commitment is, no doubt, inexcusable. Again, a deceptive nature of such a commitment is even more inexcusable. It is, indeed, a crime. If the said Armed Forces' Special Power Act in Manipur is such a commitment, I am sure that Indianisation programme even if it is under a uniform strategy of the economic, political and social developments, will certainly flop mortally. It is better for them to keep a tactful silence on it. It is shameful for them that they talk of peace while invading under the guise of a genuine peace-keeper with an arm to vanquish us in the name of shaping our fate and future.

It is not the direct invasion and open colonisation that we have to fear to-day. It is the camouflaged invasion and the colonisation as mentioned above in the name of Democratic Union or of shaping our destiny—i.e. the kind of colonisation which puts us with nobody's knowledge inside the iron curtain, our legs

fettered, our hands tied and our minds overthrown, all in the name of democracy (democratic union) and of shapping our fate, that we have to fear more.

Why should we fight shadows? Why should we remain fighting merely propaganda with propaganda, ideas with ideas and arms with arms etc. For we knew, it was a lower logic. We must fight their injustice with our just and reasonable ones only.

They say that they have been attacking extremism in Manipur, countering the menace of extremists, which are affecting innocent people's peaceful life. They did it in the name of checking the hysteria of the CID-hunting by the extremists and dangerous ambushes etc. But they purposely ignore the genuine grievances of our people which led to form the present movement.

They say they are here in Manipur to protect the lives of our people from the activities of the so-called extremists. But they never stop themselves from molesting our mothers and sisters, from brutally killing and torturing of the innocent people in the name of conducting counter-insurgency operations.

They talk impatiently of intolerance of extremism but never mention about the 'Rape-and-kill rules' of theirs. They claim that they are seeking peace and solution; but never stop continuing their foulplay. They even justify their camouflaged invasion on our innocent and unarmed populace by their trained armed men.

True, they claim peace and ask for a genuine peace. But at the same time, they are indulging in a bloody invasion in the name of safeguarding the innocent people.

It is pretty hard to check disguised invasion of that Indian style. Our surest way of survival out of such an invasion is our people's united stand to blame and react to it, till they come to realise and admit their own mistakes, till the invaders admit that we, too,

are as human as them and, therefore we must be given the necessary right of a free people—a people as free as any other Indian and as anybody in the world. It is cruel on their part to deny us the happiness of being a free people.

Our best strategy is to expose their hidden war and invasion on us under the cover of their propagandas, writings, and speeches by pretending themselves to be just one of our saviours, protectors and defenders etc.

When wars are declared on us, shall not we resist? Indeed, I am exposing the threat and implications underlying the present theory of the Indianisation which is based on the false and deceptive Principles. To me the present role of Indianisation is an opium to the intellectuals particularly the Meetei intellectuals who use to see things only through the Delhi specs. To them everything at and from Delhi is honoured and worshipped; everything non-Delhi is alien and enemy.

I am giving you, sir, the true picture of the disguised but proved invaders, their role of colonisation in the name of defending and protecting us. This is the very Indianisation, which is highly talked about but really flopped

Allow me, sir, to remind those Msetei intellectuals who can not see the world without Delhi eyes that they are too honest to trust the people who deceive them. I pity them for their being so honestly blind. It is not surprised, sir, that their conscience has been polluted, their mind poisoned and their moral standard lost. I am wondering what makes them so honestly blind and so poisonously affected. In fact, sir, the Meetei intellectuals have yet to know how far they are free Indians by reopening their eyes—If we are to be Indians, no doubt we are colonised and suppressed Indians.

It is wrong to believe that our mothers and sisters welcome the combing operations with their tender bodies, with their charming smile. It is also wrong to believe that the people here call in the army and welcome it with good heart and sweet will.

I don't mean that our good opinion once lost is lost for ever. I do not mean our intellectuals have some tendency to particular evils i.e. a natural defect, which even the best education can hardly overcome. I am not trying to willfully misunderstand them. What I simply mean is that our intellectuals should stop believing the world in the dark.

### **“IS DEATH A HUMOUR TO THE PRESENT NAGA INSURGENTS”**

With guns in their hands, the present Naga insurgents die a satirical death in the hand of the unarmed Naga villagers. This is a new chapter in the history of the Naga war.

Now-a-days, one's fact-finding mission is so rapid that it jumps from newspaper reports to analysis, from analysis to judgement, in a moment. This is also a sarcastic fact-finding.

Villagers are the food of counter-insurgency. If that be so, no doubt the moment is the end of Naga revolution, no doubt it is an era's end to all the insurgents. I have never been attracted by any newspaper report as I was by the report that Chinese-trained members of the NSCN ( the National Socialist Council of Nagaland ) were killed by the villagers and their weapons snatched away. Every now and then, such a satirical death of the trained NSCN men at the hands of their own untrained villagers attracted the national press coverage.

It is undeniably a fact that NSCN is the living threat to the Indian security forces. Its being overpowered by the villagers is indeed a food for thought. If the evidence against such an information has no gaps which need to be filled, we can label it "the end of insurgents' era" and, no doubt, India leads counter-insurgency operation in the world. But, if it is a strategy of fighting insurgency with insurgency, if it is a device of balancing one insurgent against the other, then India will certainly suffer a final defeat in the long run and the Naga cause will remain unsolved.

### OF THOMAS HARDY'S "FAR FROM THE MADDLING CROWD"

Is love an art of betrayal, commercial and short-lived? Of course, it is to an immoral Sergeant Troy. However, sincere, honest and devoted a lover like noble Gabriel Oak is indeed a symbol of genuine love, whereas greedy Boldwood who, unlike Mr. Gabriel lacks completely the secret of wooing a girl inspite of his being a confirmed bachelor of a forty years, is a neglected lover, a voluntary victim of his sweetheart Bathsheba Everdene. We all know he loves Bathsheba beyond measure and such a crazy love of his finally made himself land in gaol as a price for his sickness in Bathsheba's love.

Is Bathsheba fickle minded and wicked? No. Why then does she hate Fanny Robin, her one time maid servant. What offence did Fanny commit to? What encroachment does she do in Bathsheba's private life? Has Fanny made any gross invasion of Bathsheba's privacy?

It is not deniable a fact that none of the wives can share their husbands with any other women—after all to every housewife, the husband is the rarest of



the dearest Bathsheba is no exception. What she conveniently or emotionally forgot is only that poor Fanny Robin is the first but undeclared wife of her husband, Mr. Troy, who is not less answerable for the tragic end of Fanny and her child.

Fanny is the tragic heroine whose unfulfilled love had ended up in the graveyard—a tomb erected by her beloved Troy in memory of her. Her death is not one unsung, unwept and unceremonial. Rather, it breaks everybody's heart and teaches Troy and Troy-like people the good lesson of life. It is her agony that Troy was deeply touched and moved and made to lament madly.

If Bathsheba is Troy's technical wife, Fanny is his moral wife. Troy puts himself between Scylla and Charybdis. Bathsheba's pretty face on the one hand and on the other Fanny's lingering love. To him being pretty is preferable to love and is above it. The tragedy is that, as a result of this perspective of his, he died a deadly death and joined his darling Fanny in her grave as if he could hardly separate Fanny both during his lifetime and even after his death. Though he was for Bathsheba physically and legally as he claimed, in fact he belonged to Fanny Robin once and for all.

It is Troy's legacy that love in Bathsheba Everdene is a thing worn-out, sorry and bygone. She was so mortally injured that she might have succumbed to a love-sick frustration, had Gabriel Oak, her onetime lover and the former manager and now her servant timely not rescued her with an engagement of a happy marriage.

Since the day of their first meeting, Gabriel is a care-taker lover but finally a beloved husband of Bathsheba. He is not only genuine in seeking his love but well versed in wooing his girl as well. This man

Gabrial is a kind of person who feels never exhausted in the rigorous but delicate work of wooing, who does hardly know withdrawal and setback in the battle of love-making, coaxing, courting as well as winning. His extra-ordinary calibre of love equipped with sophisticated wooing techniques is apparently tantamount to a degree holder of love affairs as if a genius in love science.

In the final analysis, Gabrial, once the former Oak of Norcombe Hill, is Bathsheba's lover at the hour of her need. We are glad, he is destined to the happiness of a fulfilled love and happy-ending. Again, we wish him joy with Bathsheba, his comely wife. His Bathsheba is his dream realised in the long run. In fact, Mr. Oak is a hero of love and a star of wooing. His love is eternal, eternal in both the Heaven and the Earth, particularly in Bathsheba's heart.

A noble lover, calm and cool, Mr. Gabrial Oak is a man of word and principle. He did never interfere Bathsheba's romance with Boldwood and Troy at the expense of his broken heart although he knew both of them were painful thorns, the nails, in his heart. His generosity lies when he lends Boldwood his helping hand and when he respects Troy who is the root cause of changing Bathsheba's heart ( love ) from him. Even so, he adored Bathsheba as his soul of souls till God helped him with Boldwood imprisoned and Troy killed.

Mr. Francis Troy is a person of no moral binding only because of which his two declared and undeclared wives, Bathsheba and Fanny respectively, suffered an untold misery, the former temporarily while the latter permanently. He played the same role of Jude in 'Jude the Obscure', his life as much obscure as Jude's, both of whom are tragic heroes of the two wives—declared and undeclared—that led to their doom, the

tragic death. These two heroes of the same feather are our "negative teachers" who open up the eyes of immoral lovers, their fiancées, their concubines and their secret wives and so on and so forth. It is indeed heart-breaking to look back the pitiable lives of Fanny Robin, Bathsheba Everdene as well as Arabella and Sue (Jude the Obscure) all of whom are victims of our two heroes aforesaid.

No doubt, there are many Fannys, Bathshebas, Arabellas and Sues among our sisters. They are as independent and modern as Bathsheba and Arabella, as shallow and naive as Fanny and Sue when our menfolk are behaving like Sergeant Troy and Jude, and most miserably do they suffer when our political leaders whose nerve is wine, women and money, are working hand in glove with modern Troys and Judes to whom what makes us tragic is their good comedy. Wine, women and money being an inseparable life-partner of our political leaders, it is but natural that modern Troys and Judes are their right hands to give them strong nerve to lead a successful political life. Let the Almighty console the political souls with sweet wines and charming girls over the cradle of powerful money.

## **THE ULTIMATE DOUBT IS NOT 'IF'**

It was in 1905 that Russia did explode in its political revolution. We have dedicated revolutionaries, who could carry the revolution through to the end, despite many a setback or defeat in course of it.

Of course, these temporary defeats are the road to success to the determined revolutionaries. Lenin admitted that the success of his October Revolution was ensured by his defeat in his first uprising in which several thousand of his comrades got killed, sentenced to death and imprisoned for life, etc.

Lenin's maturity along with his considerable preparation for his successful uprising ( the October Revolution ) corresponded to the decline and fall of the Czar who was bound to face both the internal and external enemies at one time. When the Czar was engaging a bloody war with the mighty Germans and Austria-Hungary, the Bolsheviks did overthrow him seizing the opportunity of his external conflict. Thus a weaker Czar weakened by the World War I was overthrown by the well-organised workers and peasants of Russia under the leadership of Lenin. Hence, the grand success of the October Revolution.

The October Revolution might not have been succeeded or its success might have been delayed, had there been no First World War, had the Czar been as active as before. The October Revolution happened to succeed when Russia and the World were caught with the First World War.

I admit that the October Revolution (1917) possesses all the assets of its success—Lenin's leadership, his summation on his first unsuccessful uprising, the dedication

of the Russian revolutionaries under the Bolshevik Party, the international proletarian support, etc. But I choose to say that the secret of its success would remain a secret or the success would be incomplete if anyone disapproves of or less emphasised the favourable conditions given by the First World War ( 1914—1918 ) in which Russia was seriously involved as a member of the 'Allied Forces'. It is worth mentioning here that Lenin's October Revolution materialised at a time when the Czar was engaging a war with "Central Powers" which consists of Germany and Austria-Hungary and others etc. ( The First World War ). In one sense, Lenin made his October Revolution a success when the First World War provided ( bestowed ) the ground of his success.

Only when both the internal and external factors are ripe, a revolution does succeed. We know an egg is the chicken of tomorrow if it ( the egg ) is hatched under an appropriate temperature. But a stone can never be a chicken, however hatched under the most correct temperature. It is better to remember here that when the firm Chinese revolutionaries defeated the Japanese, Japan was already a defeated enemy, defeated by the Allied Force in the Second World War.

*the 3rd May, 1984*  
**Manipur Central Jail,**  
**Imphal.**

